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DES forges first planning links across the binary divide

Peter David

The first formal planning link between the universities and local authority maintained higher education institutions is to be established early this year following a successful initiative by the Department of Education and Science.

At a three-cornered meeting called by the department, both the University Grants Committee and the Council of Local Education Authorities agreed in principle to the creation of a number of "consultancy" committees to discuss the common problems facing the higher education system in each sector.

Setting up the new committees could have far-reaching implications. It marks the first step by the DES towards developing a closer relationship between the two sides of the binary system—a key motif of last year's select committee report on higher education funding.

But the number and scope of the consultancy committees is to be more wide-ranging than originally proposed by the DES when it first mooted the scheme last October. The UGC and CLEA were unwilling to accept a plan for six permanent committees.

Instead, only three committees will be set up initially, with priority attached to two. The remaining three proposed by the DES may be set up later if they are thought to be necessary and if the local authority associations can spare the personnel to service them.

Two of the committees being immediately set up will, however, tackle some of the most politically sensitive questions which have dominated the uneasy relations between the two sectors.

One committee will be assigned to the question of student numbers and their distribution between the universities and the public sector. It will also investigate student numbers in particular subjects and the overall balance of subjects in the system.

Another committee will look at how spending per student differs within and between institutions. It will be one of the first occasions on which local authority planners will be able to compare the unit costs in their own colleges with the hazy "unit of resource" costings used by the UGC.

A third and slightly less important committee is to deal with teacher training and the problems of coordination between the universities, polytechnics and colleges which provide it. High on the agenda is likely to be the dramatic shortfall in recruitment to Bachelor of Education courses in the public sector.

The three committees which will not be established yet would have covered fees policy, catering and residence matters and the general regional coordination of higher education.

The regular work of the new committees is to be left to officers from the DES, UGC and CLEA, probably with DES assistant secretaries chairing the meetings. But the department is understood to want occasional meetings at a higher level, attended by councillors, ministers and the chairman of the UGC.

Pay talks aim to beat cash limit

by David Jobbins

A staged pay settlement for university lecturers is likely to be discussed formally with vice-chancellors later this month.

The aim is to reconcile the 13 per cent which was forwarded to ministers by the independent chairman of Committee A (the first stage of the negotiating machinery) with the 6 per cent cash limit subsequently announced by the Government.

Leaders of the Association of University Teachers and the vice-chancellors agreed to explore the possibilities of a staged settlement just before Christmas. No percentage figures were discussed at the meeting, which took place after joint discussions with Education Secretary Mr Mark Carlisle, who made clear there was no chance of revising the cash limits.

Mr Carlisle did not rule out a staged settlement, but his insistence on the 6 per cent cash limit is likely to make the formulation of one difficult.

The university employers have not disguised their belief that they face very real financial problems. The full impact of the latest round of cuts is only now becoming apparent and they regard the developing situation as desperately serious.

While there may be room for some movement they also have to take into account the effect of any settlement on the base line for the 1981/1982 recurrent grant, due to be announced in March.

Ministers are also likely to veto any settlement which cannot be demonstrated to fall within the new cash limit. It would of course be necessary for any deal to be negotiated in Committee B. A Government counter offer of 6 per cent has already been firmly rejected.

Most universities have not had time to digest the effect of the new £30m cuts but Edinburgh views them so seriously it has ordered an immediate emergency freeze on all posts, academic and non-academic.

It says the latest cuts could reduce its income by well over £1m per annum. This is on top of cuts which necessitated a current three year programme to reduce recurrent spending by £800,000 per annum by 1982-83. Edinburgh also expects to lose a further £150,000, which could quadruple over the next four years, because of the full cost fees policy for overseas students.

The freeze will be reviewed later this month when the full implications of the decline in income will be examined and further information will have been gleaned from the University Grants Committee.

inance staff 0 sums for bleak year

Paul Flaner

Regi and polytechnic finance ficers are busy scrutinizing details passed this week of the amount they can expect from their local education authorities for what promises to be one of their bleakest years yet.

Details of the amount of money paid to individual authorities from the central Advanced Further Education (AFE) pool total of nearly £447m at out turn prices) are now reached most institutions.

Early reactions from Newcastle and North East London Polytechnics agreed that financial difficulties in the current year were likely to be met with threats of possible policy redundancies.

The size of the pool, which reimburses local authorities for the bulk of their spending on higher education has been cut by 4 per cent in real terms on last year.

It has also been adjusted to take account of the new block grant system for support and the new rules on financing student unions. Another £3.5m has been excluded from catering charges and tuition fees for overseas students are still payable, although individual institutions will not lose this money.

The arrangements also take account of the cost of closing down some initial teacher training courses during a rolling process of reductions to a system of mitigation to cushion the gap between budget allocations and allocation, are also based on the value of a 1p rate.

Thus they will receive £12.6m, which is a drop in real terms on the year of about £500,000. Mr Campbell, assistant director of polytechnic said it was no more than he expected. "But it still will cause considerable problems for us."

Jacques Brosan, director of Bristol Polytechnic narrowly avoided compulsory redundancies this year, following a preliminary examination which would be a substantial shortfall, before forcing a "reduction in staff". He would not comment on redundancies.

He's a jolly good fellow: Lord Perry, retiring vice chancellor of the Open University receives his diploma of fellowship from acting vice chancellor Professor Godfrey Vesey. Lord Perry is the first fellow of the university. He formally relinquished his post on Wednesday after 11 years and was succeeded yesterday by Professor John Horlock, former vice chancellor of the University of Salford.

Science deal strengthens Europe contacts

by Robin McKie
Science Correspondent

The Science Research Council is set to sign a major agreement which will involve it in close scientific cooperation with Holland. The move follows a recent meeting of the council when it was agreed to establish an umbrella scheme covering several different scientific areas.

The development is the result of recent negotiations with the Dutch research council, the *Zuiver Wetenschchappelijk Onderzoek* (ZWO), and at first will cover major programmes in astronomy and radiation research.

The deal will give Holland a 20 per cent slice of the La Palma observatory complex which is being built by the SRC in the Canary Islands. A total of four telescopes are to be constructed at the site—a one metre, a 2.5 metre, and a 4.2 metre optical telescope as well as a special millimetre instrument to probe short wavelength radiation.

The Dutch will pay about £4.7m as their contribution to the capital construction costs of the complex and will provide further cash as their 20 per cent share of the support, manning and running costs of the telescopes.

The other major part of the present agreement will cover Dutch involvement in the synchrotron radiation machine now operating at the SRC's Daresbury laboratory. This provides intense radiation over a range of wavelengths which can be used as a crucial new research tool in biology, chemistry and other fields.

It was intended that Holland would have its own synchrotron device, PAMPAS, but this has recently been axed because of funding cutbacks and now the ZWO hopes it will be able to build experiments at Daresbury in return for a contribution to the device's costs.

It is hoped to add further cooperative schemes as part of the agreement, roughly in a 80:20 ratio of funding which represents the relative financial strengths of the two scientific organizations. For instance, the Dutch are known to be interested in Britain's spallation neutron source at Rutherford.

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AUT seeks security for research staff

by David Jobbins

Emergency measures to tackle the "chronic insecurity" of research staff employed on a series of short-term contracts are being sought by the Association of University Teachers.

It is writing to the vice-chancellors, the University Grants Committee, and the five research councils asking for talks on a programme of action. The association's letter expresses "serious concern" at the position and adds: "In the present uncertain economic situation the positions of many of them have become quite intolerable."

As a once-and-for-all solution to the numbers who have been employed on short-term contracts for six years or more, the AUT wants them to be appointed immediately, either to vacant academic posts or to permanent research posts subject to one year's notice.

For the rest, the aim is the negotiation of more 'secure' contracts lasting at least two years except where there are reasonable grounds for a shorter term; no renewals for less than two years without the agreement of the local AUT branch; and notice of non-renewal to be given at least six months before the contract is due to end.

The practice of requiring staff to waive employment rights should also cease, the union suggests.

Local associations are being advised to negotiate with their own universities to add to the pressure being applied at national level.

"We are aware that these proposals have certain financial implications for the universities and/or the funding bodies, though we believe any net additional expenditure required will be small", the AUT says in its letter.

Princess Anne (left) faces tough competition from Jack Jones and Nelson Mandela.

Election rivals for Princess Anne

by Ngaio Crequer

Princess Anne will need to defeat Jack Jones and Nelson Mandela in the election for the chancellorship of London University if she wants to succeed her grandmother, the Queen Mother.

The decision rests with 83,000 members of convocation who will vote by postal ballot, and the result is likely to be made known on February 14, 1981.

A number of members of convocation were unhappy that the post should remain in the family and two alternative candidates have been put up in opposition to the standing committee recommendation of Princess Anne, backed by Lord Annan, vice-chancellor, and Lord Scarman, chairman of the university court.

Mr Jack Jones, former general secretary of the transport and general workers' union and now pensioners' leader is supported by Professor John Griffith, at the London School of Economics, Professor Tessa Blackstone, of the Institute of Education, Lord Young of Dartington and Mr Max Morris, formerly president of the National Union of Teachers.

He has wide support among all the faculties at London and can also claim academic connexions. He is an associate fellow of the LSE, a fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, has an honorary degree from Warwick and is also a companion of honour.

Another sponsor, Mrs Irene Chaplin, a member of the convocation standing committee, said: "He is a most distinguished person. He is a national figure but represents the ordinary folk. He was responsible for keeping the country going when things were bad."

Supporting Mr Nelson Mandela is television journalist Mr Jonathan Dimbleby, Mr Trevor Philips, former president of the National Union of Students, and some staff and students at Birkbeck College.

Mr Mandela, president of the African National Congress of S Africa, has been in prison s 1962 when he was arrested "inciting strikes" and "leaving country illegally".

He is a graduate of the Unive of Witwatersrand and comp the first part of an LLB at Lo According to his nominators, life has been dedicated to the r tion of a world where every son, regardless of race, creed colour may live freely. It was such ideals which led to establishment of the Universit London".

All the nominations have accepted and Princess Anne agreed to be nominated. Con to speculation, Nelson Mand enforced detention does not qualify him. All that stan orders says of the chancellor is he or she should be "a fit proper person". He chanc normally attends degree monies and foundation days.

Princess Anne has no other mitments to any university.

A levels provide best guide to degree performance

by John O'Leary

A levels or their equivalent remain the best indicator of a student's performance in higher education, but they are not sufficiently reliable to justify current restrictive selection procedures.

This is one of the conclusions of research by Dr Noel Entwistle, of Edinburgh University's department of education, into students and student learning. In a paper presented at the annual conference of the Society for Research into Higher Education, Dr Entwistle stressed that only on course performance provided a real guide.

Correlation between A level grades and classification of degree can be high, given the restricted range of grades among accepted students, he said. But this does not apply to students taking subjects unavailable at school and is less marked in the arts and social sciences.

In borderline cases, selection becomes almost arbitrary, according to Dr Entwistle. Additional criteria, often based on interviews, generally do not improve the prediction of subsequent performance.

Although some departments had found interviewing useful, it remained doubtful whether the process justified the cost and effort involved.

"Perhaps the safest conclusion to be drawn from this research is that a more open policy of admission to higher education would be fairer to those currently excluded by selection criteria of accepted objectivity but dubious validity at the borderline", Dr Entwistle said. "If the criterion for admission is to be 'capacity to benefit from a course', it would be difficult to justify either the current procedures of selection or the limits on numbers being imposed by government."

Once on course, formal assessment may put students under stress. Studies have shown that even minor disturbance will damage work and produce a vicious circle as the sufferer drops behind his colleagues and worries more as a result.

Relationships between personality and academic performance are weak, said Dr Entwistle, although less neurotic and more stable students are generally more successful than others. More important are study methods, although recent research has highlighted the great variety of successful techniques used by students.

Social workers divided over reforms

by Charlotte Barry

A Government decision to reform the national council for social work training has split the profession.

The Department of Health and Social Security is to reduce the membership of the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work from 64 to 25 by next year.

Government ministers will appoint all members after consultation, instead of accepting nominations from professional organizations as in the past.

The British Association of Social Workers, which opposes the changes proposed in a consultation document issued in September, 1979, has reacted with dismay to the announcement.

The association has sent a strong letter of protest to Social Services Secretary Mr Patrick Jenkin saying that the new constitution will undermine the council's independence.

The letter argues that large numbers are not at the root of the council's problems. The key to greater effectiveness is closer collaboration between CCETSW, social work agencies and training courses.

The Association of County Councils is also to write to the DHSS objecting to the proposed nomination of CCETSW members by Government ministers. Although the ACC supports the reduction in numbers it wants to continue with a core of members nominated directly by interested bodies.

A spokesman for the Association of Directors of Social Services said: "We agree there's scope for reducing the membership of CCETSW, but we had not envisaged anything quite as drastic as the reduction from 64 to 25".

The Association of Metropolitan Authorities, a major employer of social workers, has however welcomed the reduction in numbers.

The Residential Care Association's general secretary Mr Dick Clough said he was delighted with the decision. He added that the association also welcomes the appointment of CCETSW members by ministers provided there is adequate consultation.

Announcing his decision Social Services Secretary Mr Jenkin said: "Decisions on the size and structure of the council made over the years by central government have doubled its original size. One plan for a smaller council should improve its efficiency". The DHSS has also decided that members of the council's committees may come from outside CCETSW.

Report speaks up for poly's role in local economy

by Paul Flather

Significant benefits made by Newcastle Polytechnic, currently facing a possible £2m cut in its budget with the loss of up to 260 jobs, to local employment in the Tyneside region are spelt out in a new report.

The report produced by two members of the polytechnic's school of economics, Mr Brian Dick and Mr Barry Wood, says that on the lowest economic "multiplier" estimates more than 2,360 jobs are created by the polytechnic.

Contrary to public opinion, the report says, the polytechnic is not a significant cost to the city: in return for a contribution of £294,000 last year, the polytechnic generated spending power of almost £8.8m in Newcastle.

In fact the city provided just 3 per cent of the polytechnic's income last year. The rest of its income came from the advanced and further education pool. The city contributes to the pool, but this would continue even if the polytechnic was closed.

The report concludes that the polytechnic creates 1,350 jobs directly in the city at a net cost to local ratepayers of just £218 per job.

It also shows that 3,022 (59 per cent) of full-time students live within the city. With an average grant of £2,245 this means extra spending power of £3.8m in Newcastle.

The report gains added weight by being published at a time when the polytechnic is facing a serious financial crisis, with a budget shortfall of £1.7m expected this year.

The polytechnic directorate has prepared a series of short-term options to meet the immediate crisis, and a medium to long-term strategy to reduce expenditure. The short term options include the possible closure of up to a minor site Clayton Road and St Andrew

The polytechnic as ruled out the option of closing one of its main sites, at Coach Lane, which costs the polytechnic almost £2m to run. A no-redundancy policy adopted by the local authority is to be honoured in the short term.

In the medium term student numbers will be held at the current level of about 6,500 and the number of staff will be increased, hopefully with staff and student co-operation.

Mr Gordon Campbell, secretary and director, said all options had been carefully considered before the final decision, probably next month. "The final cuts will be much less than £2m. This new report makes clearly to the local authority and important we are in aiding the local economy."

The report also shows how the average cost of teaching a full-time student at Newcastle has risen steadily during the 1970s while the cost per year of £2,109 in 1972-73 has come down on costs to £1,975 in 1978-79.

● *The Impact of Newcastle Upon Tyne Polytechnic upon Employment and Income in the Local Economy* by B. Dick and W.

Action urged for rural areas

by Patricia Santinelli

Urgent action by the Manpower Services Commission and other bodies to promote better quality training and education in Youth Opportunities Programmes in country districts is advocated in two new reports.

Their conclusions based on studies of unemployment and work experience in east Cornwall are to be discussed at a conference at the end of this month along with two other reports not yet published on North Tyneside and south London, completed by the Into Work Project.

Into Work is an independent project sponsored nationally by the British Youth Council and Youthaid and funded by the MSC. Its aim is to report on the state of unemployed young people in these three areas and explore the extent to which YOP can meet their needs.

One of the surveys conducted during the greater part of 1980 specifically on Work Experience Employers Premises (WEP) s that the level of off-the-c education and training on the sch is appallingly low and: a of the training element fo on the job in hand.

Thus 83 per cent of those questioned said that no-f training was provided a per cent said that the tr attended external cour lead to qualifications.

Of the trainees interv 8 per cent said that they participating on a day rele and two thirds said by nothing about such rele per cent of the trainees that they had special instr sions arranged for the sors, although almost who did found them hel

The main reason for low provision stems mainly sors' disbelief that such necessary and also from a suitable courses in the

North American News

Assessment centre put to the test

from Clive Cookson

WASHINGTON

The United States' first community-based "assessment centre" will soon open its doors. Individuals will be able to visit the centre, in Portland, Oregon, to get an independent assessment of their managerial skills, coupled with career guidance.

The project is run by a Portland organization called the Institute for Managerial and Professional Women though it is open to both sexes. Its intention is to make available more generally a technique of assessment—based on simulated managerial problems and decision-making exercises, rather than traditional interviews and intelligence tests—which some large employers have long used for their own staff.

Educationists in Oregon are taking a great interest in the project because, if it succeeds and similar community assessment centres begin to open elsewhere, the movement could have significant impact on colleges and universities.

Four organizations took part in the Portland centre's recent trial run. Three were local companies, and the fourth was the Oregon branch of the Council for the Advancement of Experimental Learning (CAEL). As an educational association dedicated to learning through experience in the "real" world outside academe CAEL is always keen to promote new ways to assess the competencies people have gained from their experience.

Oregon CAEL provided college administrators to act as assessors and assessees for the pilot project. One was a visitor from England, Norman Evans of the Policy Studies Institute of London, a former principal of Bishop Lonsdale College of Education, who was looking at experimental learning in the United States.

Valerie McIntyre, director of Oregon CAEL, thought one function of an assessment centre might be to steer some adults away from university enrolment at a college or university, if they just wanted a degree as a credential to advance their career. Instead they may go to the centre, find that they are already competent in the skills required for their career goals, and take away a transcript of their assessment to show employers.

On the other hand, as Dr Evans said, "for others assessment could mean providing strong motivation for further study or the confidence to undertake it."

Dr McIntyre and Dr Evans pointed out other benefits for higher education of involvement in an assessment centre. College and university administrators, who have often had no managerial training, could gain a lot from having their strengths and weaknesses assessed.

In addition, the centre could provide excellent opportunities for fruitful cooperation between higher education and local employers, if it built up a panel of trained assessors, made up of representatives from both sides (including student interns), who devised suitable educational programmes for the assessees.

Encouraged by the success of the pilot project, the Institute for Managerial and Professional Women is training assessors and preparing materials for the Portland Assessment Centre to go into full operation.

Alice Armstrong, the chief organizer, plans to provide two levels of assessment this year. One, for mid-level managers, is likely to cost about $600 a person. That will buy a day's worth of simulated management experiences under the eyes of a panel of assessors, followed by a discussion of the results of the assessment, including career and educational advice.

The other programme will be a cheaper (perhaps $100) and simpler assessment of lower level and beginning managers. This is designed to appeal particularly to individuals, paying their own fees.

However, most mid-level assessees will probably be sent to the centre by their employers. In that case, Norman Evans noted, "problems might arise where the interests of individuals and employers who might sponsor them conflict—self-knowledge for the assessee, and personnel selection for the employer—unless full agreement is reached beforehand by assessment centre, assessees and employers on the use to be made of the assessment information."

War on 'indecent' library books

Since last month, public libraries across the United States have been under siege from fundamentalist Christians and right-wing political groups, who are trying to remove immoral and indecent books from their shelves.

Mrs Judy Krug, who directs the American Library Association's office for intellectual freedom, said the number of complaints from members about attempted censorship jumped from five a week to five a day after the November elections.

Most librarians believe the surge of book-banning attempts was triggered directly by the swing to the right in the election, which give groups such as the so-called Moral Majority new confidence to seek the removal of books they see as anti-family, anti-Christian and anti-American, from school and public libraries.

A large group of fundamentalists in Washington County, Virginia, is demanding that the library board withdraw books such as *The Lonely Lady* by Harold Robbins and *Goodbye Columbus* by Philip Roth, which they claim are "hard core pornography".

Executioner Reagan seeks a candidate for the chopping block

from our North American editor

WASHINGTON

Ronald Reagan is having great trouble finding a suitable candidate to put his or her head on the chopping block as Secretary of Education, a Cabinet position the President-elect remains committed to abolish.

In 1979 Congress took education out of the sprawling old department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and created a separate new Education Department (ED), on President Carter's request. To undo Mr Carter's work, Mr Reagan will have to persuade Congress to pass an act demoting ED to a sub-cabinet agency or putting it back under the wings of another department (either back with health and human services, as the other part of HEW became, or, possibly, into the Department of Labour. Until then he will be forced to have an Education Secretary in his Cabinet (Mr Reagan would envy the ease with which a British Prime Minister can reorganize his or her government.)

Education was the only Cabinet post that the president-elect had not filled before Christmas. The director of his transition team, Edwin Neese, blamed the delay on the time taken by security checks on candidates and on the difficulty of choosing between several qualified men and women for the position. But sources in the transition team said the problem was in fact that no one of the right calibre had yet been persuaded to take a job that will end with the abolition of the Education Department (if Congress agrees).

The two potential education secretaries are known to have rejected the opportunity of joining Mr Reagan's cabinet: Elizabeth Dole, who preferred the lower-ranking job of White House public liaison, and Thomas Sowell, a conservative black economist at the Hoover Institution, Stanford. Others made it clear that they would rather not be considered.

Mr Meese, who is the president-elect's chief political adviser, said at his final pre-Christmas news conference that the transition staff had discovered nothing in the seven weeks since Mr Reagan's election victory to change his mind about abolishing the departments of education and energy.

That was a mild statement compared with an earlier comment by Mr Meese that ED was a "ridiculous bureaucratic joke". Speaking to the US Chamber of Commerce, he said that the architects of the department "took functions that were already in existence in other portions of government, slapped them together, put in a secretary and a bunch of assistants who were almost all dedicated to the objectives of a particular special interest group, and then sent them out to do mischief on the children of America".

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Contributions up from business

American business contributed US $870m to education last year, 17 per cent more than in 1979. The 1979 total was almost double the 1975 level and was worth 50 per cent more even after inflation.

These figures come from a new survey of corporate giving, conducted jointly by the conference board and the council for financial aid to higher education. It shows that education takes the largest proportion of companies' gifts, 35 per cent.

An earlier survey, released in the summer, showed that in 1978-79 corporate contributions reached a record 17 per cent of all voluntary support for colleges and universities.

Overseas News

National university in danger

from Geoff Maslen

MELBOURNE

Australia's top tertiary institution, the Australian National University, is under threat. According to the ANU's vice-chancellor, Professor Anthony Low, without more money in the next triennium the university's teaching and fundamental research roles will be seriously jeopardized.

The point is being reached where research and teaching departments of academic distinction and importance to Australia, which in recent years have been severely reduced, will have to be cut out altogether so that others can continue". Professor Low said in an unusually forthright and pessimistic public statement.

He added: "Since I became vice-chancellor in 1975 I have deliberately refrained from pressing the alarm button. I cannot any longer do so".

The Australian National University—sometimes called the jewel in the crown of Australian scholarship by romantic academics—has an annual budget of $95m and, after the Commonwealth Public Service is the single largest employer in the Australian capital territory.

As Professor Low pointed out, the university's expenditure is large, but its activities are extensive; five teaching faculties, seven research schools and more than a dozen academic centres and units.

International standing while ANU's contribution to national research and the nation at large could not be seriously questioned.

The teaching faculties continued to attract students from all over Australia and their number was increasing by one per cent a year. At the same time, however, there had been a cut in the number of staff by 200, or 6 per cent, between 1975 and 1980.

"Since 1975, the Australian public service has been reduced in staff by 3.6 per cent", said Professor Low. In the same period, the ANU Institute of Advanced Studies has had to reduce its prime academic research staff by 6.6 per cent.

He argued that such reductions could not long continue without significant consequences. For example, if the decline continued in the teaching faculties, it might be necessary to choose between discontinuing one relatively expensive department, or discontinuing two departments of average cost, or discontinuing three of less than average cost.

Unlike most of the state universities, the Australian National University's financial problems are a product of increased superannuation contributions for staff, together with rising fuel costs. Since 1976 the proportion of salaries the ANU has been required to set aside from its annual grant to meet its statutory obligations under the Commonwealth Superannuation Act has increased sharply to 20 per cent.

● Two of Australia's leading educators will take up posts in Britain next year. Sir Bruce Williams 61 vice-chancellor of Sydney University and head of a major enquiry into education, training and employment, is to take up a new but undisclosed appointment in London. Sir Bruce will retire after 14 years as Sydney's vice-chancellor. He was knighted this year for his services to education. An economist, Sir Bruce became economic advisor to the United Kingdom Ministry of Technology in 1966-67 and was a member of the United Kingdom National Board for Prices and Incomes.

Dr Malcolm Skilbeck, director of the Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra, will assume a joint appointment as professor of curriculum in the Institute of Education at the University of London, and director of studies at the Schools Council for curriculum and examinations in England and Wales.

Asia suffers for the doctors who stay

from A.S. Abraham

BOMBAY

Asian doctors practising medicine in their own countries are able to relate only to patients from the same social class and, by, when they do not emigrate to the West are sure the international market, they prefer to inhabit "little golden islands" at home.

This is one of the findings of a UNESCO-financed research project that entailed three case studies in prestigious medical institutions in India, Sri Lanka and Malaysia. Those were the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences in New Delhi, the General Hospital in Colombo (Sri Lanka) and the Penang General Hospital in Malaysia.

The researchers were four sociologists and their conclusions have been distilled in a book just published, called *Doctors and Society*. They are pretty depressing.

It was found that because Western training and work standards are uncritically accepted in Asia (for that matter, throughout the third world), doctors are unable to act as modernizers of their societies. Not only is the medical education imparted unrelated to indigenous socio-cultural conditions, but it also encourages the possession of qualification as an end in itself.

The study argues that only "dramatic developments" like Britain's derecognition in 1975 of Indian medical degrees can stem the medical brain drain.

Internally, there are no easy solutions. Doctors are so cut off from their social environment, it says, they are usually unsympathetic to official programmes to promote community medicine, train "bare-foot doctors" or integrate traditional healers in modern medi-care systems

Strike over conditions at art academy

from Benny Morris

JERUSALEM

Almost half the students at Jerusalem's Bezalel Academy of Art and Design went out on strike last week to protest at what they consider inadequate, unhealthy and unsafe study conditions. The strike in the country's only degree-giving art school was expected to continue for 10 days or more.

The massive leaks and flooding which shut down the jewelry department during the heavy rains 10 days ago and the leaky roof which led last Wednesday to the closure of the design department building were the last straw", said Yisrael Rabinovich, chairman of the Bezalel Students' Union, last week. The two departments together have 250 students out of the academy's total of 500.

Mr Rabinovich said that the building in the slum Musrara quarter which houses the jewelry department served in Turkish times as a stable, "and conditions have not improved much since".

Things have not improved, according to one jewelry department student, with apparently 18 trainees working with acids, electrical equipment and fire simultaneously in a 20-square-metre room.

Conditions in the design department next door are not as bad, says Rabinovich. "But the roof leaks, and the lack of space means that 14 students have to work in a small room which cannot hold 14 desks."

On the late 1960s the academy was allotted a five-acre plot between the Hebrew University's Givat Ram campus and the Israel Museum. Work began in 1971 but the 1973 Yom Kippur war, the public building freeze which followed, and conflicts with the contractor led to a cessation of work.

Bomb attacks on 'pro black' academics

from Howard Barrell

JOHANNESBURG

Two leading South African academics were targets for bomb attacks, believed to be the work of right wing extremists, last month.

They are Professor Frans Maritz, head of the Department of Sociology at Pretoria University, and Ms Jackie Cock, a Rhodes University sociologist and leading South African feminist.

A powerful blast destroyed Professor Maritz's ninth floor Pretoria University office and badly damaged two adjoining offices.

The week before three sticks of smouldering dynamite were thrown through the dining room window of Ms Cock's Grahamstown home as she was having dinner with two fellow-academics. The dynamite failed to detonate.

Professor Maritz, widely classified as a "verligte" (Afrikaans for "enlightened") Afrikaner academic, recently gave evidence in mitigation of sentence of nine guerrillas belonging to the banned African National Congress who were convicted of high treason. Three received the death sentence.

Ms Cock is the author of a study on the working conditions of black female domestic servants in the Eastern Cape area of South Africa. The controversial study is entitled *Maids and Madams*.

The latest two bombing incidents follow a bomb blast in August last year which destroyed the offices of Professor Jan Lombard, head of Pretoria University's economic Department. Professor Lombard, another so-called "Verligte", is a government economic advisor and author of a plan which would give blacks in South Africa's Natal Province more say in the running of the province.

Science 'hit by overseas fees'

Science faces a twin-edged threat because of the full cost overseas fees policy and other economies, Dr Robert Barnes, principal of Queen Elizabeth College, University of London, has warned.

At a degree ceremony at the North London Polytechnic, Dr Barnes said he wondered if the Government fully realized the importance of science and technology to the well-being of the United Kingdom.

"Recent policy decisions concerning higher education cause me concern as I feel that the consequences have not been thought through. In my humble opinion these consequences could be highly detrimental if modifications are not made in time."

He said that the reduction in the numbers of overseas students, would have a greater impact on science than the arts because the new minimum fees were 50 per cent greater for the former.

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"It is thus much more difficult for a potential science student to raise this extra money. There must be a temptation for them to move into the cheaper and in my view, the less needed subjects. This disinclination in the number of science overseas students must have a detrimental impact upon the well-being and health of our science education and certainly with present arrangements upon its financial provision in the longer term. It will have a detrimental impact upon the future developments of the world."

In addition, he said that the pressure for economies, if misapplied, could lead to the reduction of those costly activities, one of which was science.

Call for new studies centre

A call for an equivalent to the "well-found laboratory" for studies of foreign countries has been made in a report to the Merrison committee on financing university research.

The newly formed Co-ordinating Council of Area Studies Associations, which represents academics concerned with Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean argues for an area studies' laboratory in a submission to the committee examining the system of financing research.

It said there were two equivalents to the "well-found laboratory" in area studies. The first was a "home base", in which an appropriate library was a crucial essential. More investment in retrieval systems, languages would allow a substantial saving in purchase and storage costs. There would also be savings if selected libraries had permanent collections of documents like politic manifestos and agenda. Plans for research had shown that some new serials were not being taken by any libraries.

The report says that although much area study takes place within defined centres, a great deal is carried out by one member of a department, may be specializing in a non-western area and will value contact with specialist conferences or specialist journals.

The second "laboratory" was the area of the world in which research is conducted. Travel was essential at reasonable intervals. This was generally unwelcome for those involved in working on policy or increasingly on the basis of short-

People who throw stones at their own glasshouse

Maurice Kogan assesses the critical impact on social scientists of the Lindblom and Wildavsky schools of scepticism

The uncertainties and scepticism of social scientists are both laudable and, at the same time, a wretched encumbrance to themselves and those who seek help from them. In the physical sciences, at least so it seems to those outside them, techniques can be built up and themes competently pursued through the use of well-validated methods. So, too, the objects of the research and scholarship seem self-evidently right to those who have learnt in the scientific tradition. While all scientists are sceptical about findings until proven, social scientists are sceptical about their very ability to reach any conclusions at all. This uncertainty is not confined to the wilder reaches of the sociology of knowledge but is strongly and seriously endorsed by an important neo-conservative tradition advanced most potently at Yale by Charles E. Lindblom and by Aaron Wildavsky at Berkeley.

The influence of Charles E. Lindblom in particular on attitudes towards policy making has indeed been gigantic. In an article to be published this year in the *British Journal of Political Science*, Runo Premfors recounts how one of the Lindblom articles has been reproduced in no less than 40 anthologies. From him and successive collaborators over time, Robert Dahl, David Braybrooke and now the equally gifted expert on educational policy, David Cohen, have come a flow of powerful questionings of many of the received truths of social engineering.

There is hardly an undergraduate student of politics or of social policy who does not feel compelled to manipulate such fokey mouthfuls as "disjointed incrementalism" and "mutual partisan adjustment". Each of these phrases carries with it a refined taunt at the pretension of Homo Bureaucraticus as he seeks to prescribe and install the common good.

More than their peers in the physical sciences they put the classic question, "What knowledge is most worth?" And they find an awful lot that is not worth very much. We cannot be certain what is happening in society; we cannot exploit in the policy field generalizations derived from a repertoire of other cases. We must espouse only modest rationality and use a kind of enhanced and developed wisdom. If we must not simply take events as they come, we have to realize that they will come in ways that we cannot predict or easily fashion. We must cope, improve, "muddle through", in Lindblom's term, and the resulting policy should be the result of no great epinpais of the tree and the good but the disjointed and incremental product of devout little bits of doing the best that we can. Democracy is intelligent when it acts through partisan mutual adjustment and eschews synopsis and central co-ordination.

So far, these warnings have been directed mainly at policy makers and planners who seek to base their decisions on comprehensive rationality. Lindblom and Cohen now turn their strictures on professional social inquiry (PSI) and professional social scientists (PSI).

Their book is a skilled onslaught not on academic social science which they support, providing "fundamental enlightenment", for those engaged in life's struggles, but on professional social inquiry in its approach to policy problems. Policy makers, we are told, are frustrated with PSI, are alienated and many social scientists feel neglected by them. But the trouble has arisen mainly because social scientists do not understand what policy makers want and because they falsely seek independent authoritativeness when it should be dependent and subservient. The British student of policy making will soon easily recognize arrogance or assertiveness as the leading fault of the British academic contribution to policy making. But applied social scientists will be relieved to see endorsed the recognition that social science works at problems least usefully when it follows the paradigms and pretentions of hard science. Instead, we are told, PSI will contribute most through its work with "ordinary knowledge" with "social learning" and with "interactive problem solving". Excellent notions these; but what are they in practice?

Ordinary knowledge, they say, is available to all who participate in the making of decisions. Don't despise it. It is, indeed, the content of much PSI and even the best social scientists often do no more than apply with technical skill, "the casual empiricism and ordinary analysis" of ordinary knowledge. So, too, "social learning" is an alternative to professional social inquiry. For example, inflation or problems of energy won't be solved unless groups in the society learn different behaviour. But that won't happen through the creation of new information or analysis by professional social inquiry. The lessons will be learned through failure in the world's competitive markets or by getting colder and waiting in queues for petrol.

A third way is that of "interactive problem solving". Interaction helps solve problems through such processes as voting, delegation, political negotiation and market operations. Interaction may be confusing because it produces both outcome and implementation together. It goes in tandem with analysis and ought to be competitive with and complementary to it. But these difficulties must be faced because the necessary and normal way of solving a problem is not to try to understand it, it is to take action, by behaving interactively with the others who are pushing and pulling around the same issue.

The authors are not prescribing detailed solutions and their direct advice is brief; PSI should be more discriminating and develop "critical or pivotal interventions in social problem solving rather than the comprehensive studies often adopted for policy analysis". Do not try to improve on intuitive social processes or try to reach scientifically conclusive answers. That will only unhelpfully raise new problems on the important questions. PSI rapidly becomes obsolescent, compounds error, is wasteful, chooses projects poorly and fails to consider the cost and usefulness of the results of its recommendations. The professionals introduce distraction and confusion. "What PSI contributes mostly research on any one of the countless projects which PSI now ranges . . . the most frequently applicable prescription for him is Stop!" Thus social scientists will try, although few will succeed, to add to the fundamental enlightenment of society achieved by such social scientists as Adam Smith, Marx, Freud and Darwin. But, too much attempt to give PSI directly purposed to the scrutiny of problems. We must eschew the attempt to be comprehensively analytic about problems and can best take on limited functions in the social learning, interaction and ordinary knowledge businesses.

Where does this leave what seems in Britain to be the sickly infant, or, in the United States of America, the treacherous adolescent, of policy studies? The authors themselves give what they call an unpersuasive example of how PSI might tackle inflation or energy problems: for simply to study how to tackle the problem is required. Social learning might be both too accidental and ignorable. A better one is the study of the role of political leadership, for that PSI might help the society receptive to "social learning". Or, again, decisions on town buggets should not be overburdened research projects but as an interactive exercise helping politicians understand the budget before casting their votes.

"Why do they ignore the hope of some return traffic?"

These examples are a bit hollow. They seem no more than small time pieces of "professional social inquiry" in which the researcher undergoes, even more than usual, what some of my colleagues describe as his ritual humiliation, except that they include direct educational activity. The reader is still left wondering why they impose restrictions on PSI making a frontal attack on a problem just in case it tries to solve the problem "analytically and not interactively". They seem to want both to commend thought to action but to stop the action being too thoughtful, too based on sustained enquiry or analysis. Their snootiness about American policy analysis leads the authors into putting up barriers between fundamental scholarship, policy studies and the world of action.

If the great social science tradition does, as they say, contribute to fundamental enlightenment, practice, why do they ignore the hope of some return traffic? Intellectual problems can begin in the mind but also with the pains experienced in society as policies make their impact on people. These experiences cause problems to be specified. Then the search for the data and for the concepts and theories that will organize facts might, directly or indirectly, be purposed to the scrutiny of problems. We must eschew the attempt to be comprehensively analytic about problems and can best take on limited functions in the social learning, interaction and ordinary knowledge businesses.

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What should be the range of social science to be fed into policy discussion? Some problems need deep research of the facts and the controlling concepts. Others are better treated opportunistically by amalgamating ordinary and technical knowledge through "short order analyses". The latter involves are forms at which social scientists ought to be particularly adept. They can analyse the values inherent in policies through techniques inherited from philosophy. They can tell when ordinary knowledge needs supplementing by specific enquiries whether of the reporting kind or through more technical work.

Lindblom and Cohen's anxieties about the power of policy analysis are misplaced in Britain. If in Washington, policy analysis has become too claimant, it hardly gets a look in here. The burden of criticism here, from the Fulton Report, 1968 to the OECD examination of the DES, 1975, has been that there is hopeless imbalance between the government's use of ordinary knowledge and competing analyses from outside. Policy makers are strong in their use of particular forms of ordinary knowledge but are thus able to occlude other forms of analysis.

One of the functions of policy analysis would be to make its own sense, and a different one from bureaucrats, of ordinary knowledge as well as adding to unordinary knowledge.

The imbalance has always been there but at least there seemed a chance when higher education and research funding grew in the 1950's and 1960's, that there could be serious critique of policy and contributions to its formulation. Some hoped that government could participate and help nourish a kind of controlled but fruitful conflict by funding counter analysis. That would require a sufficient margin within UGC funds enabling tenured academics to develop social critique, a reasonable leeway for the SSRC to fund free research, and a willingness in government departments to negotiate commissioned research that would always have to justify itself as "useful" but need not always be tied to limited consultancy concepts.

Much of this potential remains but the balance is shifting dangerously. Government does not seem anxious to nourish a powerful and serious intelligentsia. Three-year contracts have never been a satisfactory way of tackling policy related research because they allow for insufficient continuity of work and of expertise. But the negotiation was at least between institutions moderately certain of their future and a government that sought help. It is far less of a negotiation between viable parties now. So policy analysis goes on the whole time but within Whitehall and least of all from within the academic system.

In some areas of government researchers have been asked to work with policy makers but this has involved hard work in creating the several components that are still missing. The "customer", the policy maker, must learn to move the focus of attention from the top of his in-tray.

The social scientist has to avoid both authoritativeness and subservience. He must empathize with policy problems, not attempt to do the policy maker's work, but bring his different dimensions of thinking upon which the policy maker's imagination can begin to settle. Moreover, many policy studies should be entirely independent of policy customers because the social scientist's separateness, as well as in his willingness to be permeated by policy concerns, that the usefulness of PSI is based. There are all kinds of problems for the government machine in being a customer. It involves an opening up of the system. But will that opening up happen if professional social scientists are defensive or simply standing by to react to the events that might come within the learning or interaction"? There is a strong whiff of unreality in the more negative parts of *Usable Knowledge*.

In Britain, our intellectuals lack conviction about their own usefulness. This is rubbing off on current generations of students who see the whole system banked down as if we have enough reflection, enough analysis, enough knowledge, special or ordinary, with which to set our way. That does not mean that we need repeat many of the mistakes criticized by Lindblom or Cohen, it was, for example, a great mistake for the Labour Government in 1964 to lose the big show, based on misunderstanding of what goes on at the Brookings Institute. Systematic enquiry and professional social science need adequately funded freedom, access to policy problems rather than massive institutionalism. We need what they say we need—interaction, encouragement of ordinary knowledge—but also what they attack systematic inquiry and professional social science. They are right to say that social science has no more right to a hearing than other forms of political noise. But if interaction, intuition and ordinary knowledge are admitted to their full place should social scientists stand back and forego the right to contribute skilled analysis to the policy debate just because these two gifts are? Conservatives feel that some of their brighter contemporaries have been too cocky?

The author is head of the department of government and social administration at Brunel University.

The white sheep of the family

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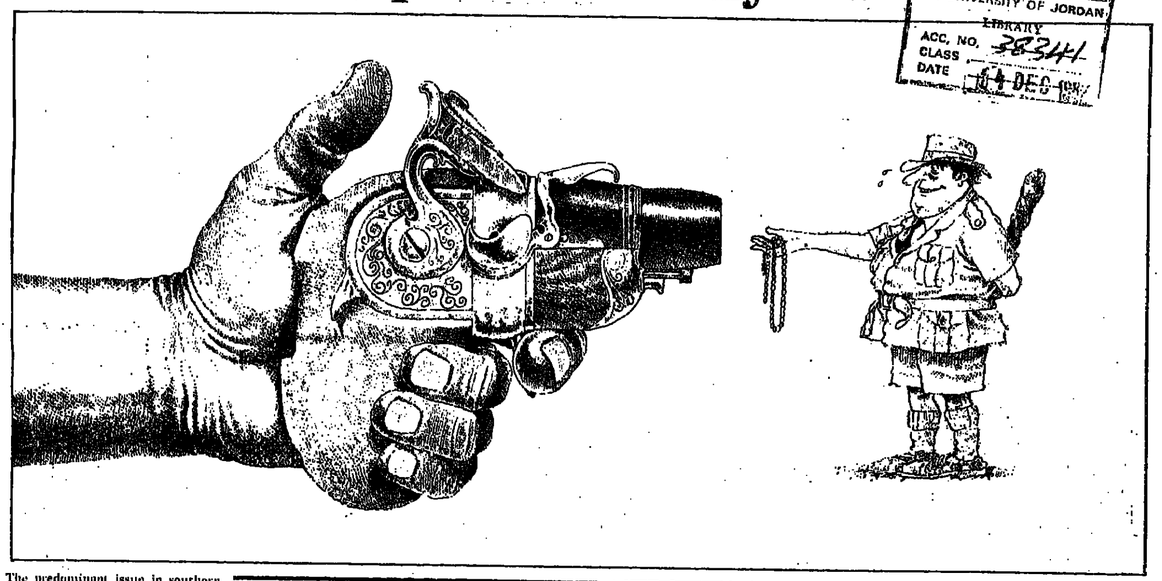

The predominant issue in southern Africa is the future of the Republic of South Africa. Despite the size and diversity of the region—with its numerous peoples, its contrast of desert and lush rain forests, its small areas of urban wealth in a sea of subsistence agriculture—and despite the existence of eight sovereign Black states (not to mention Namibia which is in constitutional limbo), it is the political future of South Africa which dominates all other questions.

The Republic is the giant of the sub-continent—its population of 28 million almost matches that of all the other states put together, and its economic strength is much greater. In 1978, which is the last year for which figures are available, South Africa's GNP was $40.9 billion. The next in line was Zimbabwe with $3.5 billion, while the total for all the others combined was only $9 billion. In two years since then the gap is likely to have widened further with the economic expansion in South Africa, and economic difficulties in some of the Black states. Because of this disparity in size, resources, and economic strength, developments in South Africa have a direct impact on neighbouring states.

Since the Sharpeville crisis of 1960 there have been persistent predictions that White rule is on the point of collapse. Those have been matched by equally powerful protests that the underlying structure is strong and resilient, and that there remains sufficiently contradictory evidence to support both of these conflicting views. Those who believe in the strength and resilience of the existing order can point to continuing White control of the government and the armed forces, to the great difficulty encountered in removing a much smaller White government in Zimbabwe, and they can point to the South African economy. Even in a period of international recession that is enjoying a boom. In terms of economic risks a recent American survey of the world's economies (the Political Business Economic Risk Index)—which was based on such economic criteria as GDP, the ratio of reserves to imports, export earnings, the stability of financial markets and wealth potential—placed South Africa in twelfth position, ahead of Britain and France.

Despite these indicators of stability there are now clear signs that political change is under way in the Republic. This may not be at the pace, or even in the direction desired by South Africa's radical opponents, but the signs are there. For one thing South Africa is being affected by the changes on her borders. If her neighbours cannot escape the Republic the reverse is also true, and recent developments in southern Africa have not been reassuring for the White regime. During the past decade the cloak of White states that was wrapped around South Africa has been swept away—as first the Portuguese withdrew from Mozambique and Angola, and later the Rhodesian Whites were defeated by the Black nationalists of Zimbabwe. The triumphs of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe and Samora Machel in Mozambique, together with South Africa's disastrous intervention in Angola, have shaken White confidence and boosted that of the Blacks.

Now the South Africans are struggling with the Namibian issue —anxious to avoid a government drawn from the socialist South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) and yet hoping to reach an international agreement on the future of the territory either with the UN or at least the western states. The South Africans have succeeded in prolonging negotiations with the UN and the group of five Western States, while the moderate, mixed-race Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) tries to establish itself, but there is no certainty that the strategy will succeed. What is perhaps most indicative of change in the sub continent is that the South Africans are negotiating at all, and even considering a UN supervised election. Fifteen years ago no South African politician would have thought of such a thing; instead it would have claimed the territory as an integral part of the Republic.

Namibia (or South West Africa, as it is still known in South Africa) was in pre-German days when the territory was transferred to South Africa under a League of Nations mandate at the end of the First World War. Since the end of the Second World War there has been a constant tug-of-war between the UN, which claims to have inherited the League's responsibilities and insists that the territory be granted independence, and the South Africans who control and administer Namibia and claim the right to decide its future. Although the South Africans have now accepted the principle of independence the process towards that is bitterly contested. At one level it is a domestic problem for the South African Government, with its "right wing" suspicions that the Whites of Namibia are being abandoned. At another level it is a major international problem—dragging in the United Nations, and a group of five Western states (United States, United Kingdom, France, Canada, and West Germany) who are trying to lubricate the diplomatic machinery, and they are doing this to a background of threats and counter threats of economic sanctions.

The position is finely balanced. A conference has now been arranged for January in Mozambique. If the negotiations fail the Western states will be faced with great international pressures to impose sanctions, but even if agreement can be reached on the interim steps to an election and a new government there will be a long, difficult interregnum with UN forces trying to retain order between armies and parties that do not trust each other. Change in Namibia is not coming easily.

Changes have not been confined to South Africa's borders. Inside the Republic White political attitudes are confused and uncertain. The Afrikaner-dominated National Party remains in firm control of the government, with no serious challenge from the opposition Progressive Federal Party, but there is deep division within the ruling party itself.

In the past the National Party has presented a monolithic image—confident of its cause and united behind its leader. Never was that clearer than during the premiership of Hendrik Verwoerd. He led the Afrikaners like a Moses, giving to the chosen people tablets on which were written the commandments of apartheid. Others might despise and ostracize them but the Afrikaner volk (mobilized through the National Party) were confident that their cause was just, and would succeed. All that has gone. Although grand apartheid has partly been implemented, and some Black homelands have received their "independence", and although the legislation of separation and discrimination are implemented by a large and sometimes ruthless bureaucracy and police force, the vision has disappeared.

Most National Party leaders no longer believe that precise social and political structures can be imposed from above. Cabinet ministers now openly admit that apartheid is a route to an unknown destination not an end in itself. This lack of certainty is reflected in the Government's constitutional proposals. They are advanced with hesitation—more like kite-flying, to test not only the wind but whether the kite will fly at all.

With such uncertainty deep divisions have appeared. These were dramatized in the contest for the National Party leadership and in the Muldergate scandal, and have been perpetuated and linked to political proprietorial rivalries. While P. W. Botha of the Cape won the struggle for the premiership the party has not closed ranks behind him, because the right wing, led by Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the powerful Transvaal section, see Botha as a dangerous liberal. From the Cabinet downwards the party is divided by policy, personality and province.

Botha is an able organizer. His image is that of a manager, not an intellectual or a statesman; his approach stresses efficiency and organization rather than principles and broad goals. His response to South Africa's problems has been to introduce some mild reforms, place his supporters in key positions, reorganize the machinery of government, and promote military leaders and officials into the top policy-making bodies. Far from rallying the Afrikaner volk with emotional slogans he has introduced a policy of thoroughness and efficiency.

The broad approach has been labelled "total strategy" based on a military assessment that revolution cannot be contained on the battlefield, but must be countered by political and social initiatives. In the social and economic fields the government is attempting to improve aspects of the Blacks' lot—at last, for instance, Soweto is to have electricity, there are to be modifications to the pass laws, and some restrictions have been lifted from trades unions—but such reforms are encased in a political language and attitude that is reminiscent of the colonial authorities in the 1950s—"The Blacks must learn to run before they can walk"; "Economic progress must precede political advancement"; "Time is needed for training, experience and education"; "A middle class must be created with a stake in the country."

The reforms have therefore to be seen in their proper light. There is no suggestion of one person one vote, or of a radical redistribution of the country's wealth. Rather they are modifications of the existing structure—little more control of local affairs for the Blacks here, and better job opportunities there. They seem designed to ameliorate injustices not to reorder the society. Perhaps they can best be seen in terms of a change of question asked by the Whites. In the past the question was (and, as far as the right wing is concerned, still is today): "How can we Whites ensure our continued control of the whole South African society?" Botha and his followers now appear to be asking "How can we Whites ensure our continued separate identity, our right to develop deep divisions and to retain our high standards of living?" If the answers to the latter group of questions implies granting some rights and rewards to the Blacks then so be it, but that does not imply that the Whites are prepared to risk majority rule short of defeat in revolutionary war.

On the Black side of the political equation there is also uncertainty. This is not about the final goal—of the powerful Transvaal section, see Botha as a dangerous liberal. From the Cabinet downwards the party is divided by policy, personality and province.

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continued on page 6

As one by one South Africa's neighbours achieve independence in the wake of colonialism, the Republic stands firm in its own traditions. The economy remains sound and the neighbours, however they disparage the regime, cannot shake off their dependence.

In his contribution to our series of articles on trends underlying the news in the trouble spots of the world, JAMES BARBER explores the tensions of a country where great wealth co-exists with grinding poverty, co-operation with deep mistrust

Left to right : Mugabe, Machel, Kaunda and Buthelezi.

White sheep of the family

from page five

leaders, who have links with other movements, but are an important factor in their own right; (f) Finally, the youths who have emerged from obscurity to lead the protests at schools and colleges.

It is no easy task to organize a Black movement in South Africa and all of them have had their difficulties and crises, but patterns have now emerged. First, the ANC is the strongest of the exile movements. Over recent years, and despite continuing internal struggles, it has achieved a revival both in the Republic and abroad where it is often recognized as the legitimate voice of South Africa's Blacks. Second the Inkatha Movement is sufficiently strong for Buthelezi to make a bid for national leadership rather than confining himself to the Zulus. Third, the spontaneous movements which have arisen in the townships act not only as a pressure on the government but on the more formal Black parties as they seek to retain mass support. Fourth, many Black youths are now politicized and are no longer prepared to accept moderate leadership from their elders. There is a generation gap in Black politics with the young people generally more radical and intransigent, and the established leaders afraid that they will be out-flanked on the left. Fifth, there is a growing divide between Black leaders who are prepared at least to consider the government's reforms and those who reject them entirely. Sixth, the Blacks are increasingly using their labour and industrial power to exert pressure.

The White Government is in some confusion in responding to the Black movements, partly because of their diversity and partly because it cannot achieve its reforms without some Black support. White, for instance, it remains consistently hostile to the ANC, it finds greater difficulty in knowing how to respond to Buthelezi and the trade unions on the one hand and the youth movements on the other. As Buthelezi and to some extent the trade unions operate within frameworks which the government has created it is constrained by its own actions, whereas the spontaneous youth groups are difficult to handle because they lack a clear structure and organization. The boast of Jimmy Kruger, the notorious ex-minister of justice, was that there could be no Black movement without an organization, and the government would infiltrate and crack any organization. That now looks limp and bombastic against the spontaneous youth movements.

The Black political leaders believe that time is on their side, that change in their direction is inevitable. Whether that change can be achieved without a major bloody confrontation is the question. All the models have a degree of instability and civil disorder within them. That degree of disorder has risen sharply in the Black areas of South Africa in recent years—with consumer boycotts, work stoppages, rent strikes, some successful attacks on school and government buildings, and even some successful urban guerrilla attacks by the ANC. However, it has yet to be sustained for any level and area of disturbance, and that situation may persist, with chronic instability in the Black areas, but no or a slow increasing challenge to the government. Or the Whites may learn the like with endemic unrest in the Black areas, and the united resistance in the recent succession of ANC campaigns of the coal to oil (SASOL) and uranium plants, that could be the future. Africa will be a "no win" situation for all the participants—more like Northern Ireland or an Israel than a Zimbabwe. Nevertheless it seems improbable that such levels of violence can be stabilized indefinitely.

The two most likely alternatives that lie ahead are first, successful reform . . . which implies that sufficient agreement is achieved between the races to change the society short of revolution; second, a revolutionary war. There are Whites who believe that there is a third path, whereby the government by being tough and firm can suppress the Blacks but that may be one path to revolutionary war, albeit a war that some Whites think they can win.

It requires great optimism to believe that relatively peaceful reform can be achieved. There are great gaps of trust and understanding between the races—the Blacks have little faith in the Whites ability or intention to introduce genuine reforms, the Whites have little faith in the Blacks ability to rule the country efficiently or to offer justice, peace and stability. However, for those who have such faith there are a few encouraging signs. There is, for instance, a genuine debate about future options among the Whites, in a way which never took place in Rhodesia. There the Whites were so worried about not rocking the boat they gave little attention to where it was heading. Within White South Africa there is a genuine concern about the implications of revolutionary war—the "too ghastly to contemplate" situation (as described by Vorster, the ex Premier). That fear is shared by some of the Black leaders, and so the dread of the consequences of revolutionary war may persuade leaders, Black and White, to make concessions and reach compromises which they would not publicly accept at present. Furthermore, the Black leaders realize that a prolonged struggle would do enormous economic damage. South Africa is the richest state in Africa, and all the political leaders want to come into that inheritance.

Reform is unlikely to be successful if it is imposed by the White Government rather than the product of successful negotiations between White and Black political leaders. Yet the conditions for successful negotiations: a belief on all sides that advantage can be gained from the process, the willingness to compromise, some sense of shared goals, mutually recognized legitimate leaders, and leaders that can carry their supporters with them in making compromises; are not there at present. Even if they wanted to it is doubtful if the leaders on either side could make substantial concessions; the government genuinely fearing a White backlash, the Black leaders fearing radical rejection as Uncle Toms. Perhaps this will change when the costs of failing to compromise become more apparent, but as neither side is the present climate ripe for major concessions.

It is accepted on all sides that if a revolutionary struggle does develop it will be long, hard, and bloody. It will be much larger and more fiercely fought than anything previously seen in the region, including the wars in Zimbabwe and the old Portuguese territories. For those who believe in the revolution the struggle is already under way, and its scope and strength will increase steadily.

A critical factor may be the attitudes of the surrounding Black states. They might provide the bases for the guerrilla armies which are already in training. However, even if the guerrillas do take to the field there is an expectation that much of the revolutionary activity will be generated among the working classes of the Black urban areas. Mugabe and Machel share the view that change will largely come about inside the Republic, and that guerrilla activity from neighbours like Zimbabwe and Mozambique will be relatively insignificant. They believe that there will be urban guerrilla activity, but the principal battlefield will be the economy where the Blacks can exert great pressure and if necessary wreak havoc. Of course, that may be wishful thinking on their part—the wish for revolutionary change without their own countries becoming battlefields. On its part the ANC is pursuing a multifaceted strategy, trying to involve itself in the "grass roots" movements of bus boycotts, school disturbances, and trade union activities, but at the same time continuing to emphasize that the final triumph can only come through the armed struggle. It sees itself as a revolutionary vanguard party.

If major revolution were to develop in South Africa it would have an impact far outside that country

The revolutionary role envisaged for the urban Blacks assumes that South Africa's economic development produces certain social and political outcomes. The very success of White capitalism is seen by Marxists to be digging its own grave by creating a Black proletariat to lead the revolution. Those who accept such a view are unlikely to commit themselves to furthering that capitalist development, but they are confident that the future lies with them. A contrasting belief found among equally committed opponents of South Africa is that economic expansion strengthens apartheid, and so they call for boycotts and bans to undermine the economy—as witnessed by students protesting outside Barclays bank, and the British Council of Churches' resolutions favouring economic withdrawal.

Such steps are strongly resisted by businessmen. Some of these (including no less a figure than Oppenheimer, the Head of the Anglo-American Corporation) argue that economic growth itself undermines apartheid. With economic growth, so this argument goes, comes greater social mobility, greater purchasing power, more skilled workers, and greater opportunities for individual development uniting Blacks as well as Whites.

The view of the Botha Government appears to be that economic development provides a base for gradual reform, by creating the resources whereby "responsible" Blacks will emerge—those with a stake in the country, who will favour moderation and ordered progress. There is therefore a direct clash of views about the nature of the urban Black population. Is it to be a revolutionary proletariat or a responsible middle class?

If major revolution were to develop in South Africa it would have an impact far outside that country. The rest of the subcontinent would certainly be drawn in, with serious consequences for the Republic's black neighbours, and it is likely that there would be even wider and more destructive consequences. Just what those would be is impossible to predict with confidence. It might for instance deepen the divide between the West and the Third World because of different responses to the situation, and it might create social division in countries of mixed race and in which there are ideological differences over South Africa, such as in Britain and the United States of America. If the South African economy were badly disrupted there would be serious consequences for the West especially in the supply of minerals. Southern Africa, and South Africa in particular, is a mineral treasure-house—and not just for the spectacular gold and diamonds, but for minerals which are used in manufacturing industry like platinum and chrome. Politically over recent years the West has learnt how dependent it is on Middle Eastern oil. If things went badly wrong in southern Africa it could soon learn how dependent it has become on that region's minerals. The greatest danger may not be a regime hostile to the West taking power, but a breakdown of order leading to industrial chaos.

While there is the danger of revolution in South Africa exploding outwards, a different type of danger is the sub-continent becoming caught in the East/West conflict. Over decades many White South Africans have nurtured neurotic fears about the spectre of communism, but outside the Republic the danger of the East/West conflict overspilling into southern Africa was not seriously entertained until the mid-1970s. Then, with the collapse of the Portuguese empire, socialist governments came into power in Angola and Mozambique, and Cuban troops fought in Angola. The awareness of new danger prompted Henry Kissinger into one of his bouts of shuttle diplomacy; but to little effect. Although the uncertainties created by the presence of the Cubans and the socialist governments linger on a more immediate form of involvement in the larger global scene may be created by the increasing international tension in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. The South African Government has always wanted a defence alliance with the West, but, other than the now defunct Simonstown Agreement with Britain, that has never been achieved. With the renewed world tension it is possible that South Africa may be accepted into Western defence calculations even if only on an informal basis. It is that fear which alerted anti-apartheid groups to protest at the meeting between the South African Foreign Minister ("Pik" Botha) and Dr Luns, the Nato Secretary General. If it were to happen there is a danger of a backlash among Blacks, of their interpreting the situation in terms of race rather than power politics, and therefore turning away from the west.

While these global concerns exist many of South Africa's international efforts are directed towards her immediate neighbours; urging on them the advantages of economic co-operation and of living in harmony with the Republic. There are obvious advantages in co-operation, and those who emphasize it point to the common problems—the need to improve agricultural practices, to provide better education and medical services, and to co-ordinate transport facilities—and to the enormous potential of the region, not least its mineral wealth. By co-operation, by avoiding friction and concentrating on economic development, all the peoples of southern Africa would, according to this view, benefit from the potential riches around them. The strength of the argument partly rests on the experience of the past, which has seen the large-scale movement of peoples across national boundaries — the Blacks who have entered South Africa from Mozambique, Malawi and Lesotho to work in the mines and on the farms, and the no less important movement of skilled people from the Republic, such as the miners in Zambia. There are also shared marketing and transport facilities across the subcontinent, and South Africa has a customs union with three of her neighbours —Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. No less than six southern African states have no seaboard (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland), and have to rely on neighbours for contact with the outside world. Within this pattern of communications South Africa plays the greatest role with her large and efficient railways, ports and air services.

The South African Government emphasizes the importance of regional cooperation. It presents a picture of a sub continent in which all members, whatever their ideologies, would work together to achieve common goals, and cooperate in the movement of people, goods, capital and technology. According to the argument such development would have the double advantage of retaining political independence for each country while combining economic efforts. With their powerful economy and eagerness to diffuse political tensions there are obvious advantages for the South Africans in such regional interdependence — in emphasizing economic priorities and depoliticising interstate relations. Over many years the South Africans have attempted this, to foster such cooperation, and the latest of these initiatives is embodied in P. W. Botha's "constellation of states".

The leaders of the Black states are not deaf to these South African arguments; they appreciate that economic development cannot be achieved without some cooperation. Also past experience has shown how difficult it is to break away. Zambia is a prime example. During the UDI period she made several attempts to reduce her dependence on the White south. In particular she tried to find new routes for her trade—including a Chinese constructed line of rail to Dar es Saluam on the Tanzanian coast. The results always fell short of Zambia's hopes, and part of the explanation for that country's present economic plight lies in the failure of these efforts. The lesson of reliance was also brought home to the new government of Mozambique after the Portuguese withdrew, when it found it needed to accept South African trade through the port of Maputo, to sell power to South Africa from the Cabora Bassa dam, and to import skilled South African labour at its ports to replace the Portuguese who had fled.

Despite such advantages the Black rulers are equally conscious of the drawbacks of cooperation. Whatever the racial and ideological completion of the South African government the small neighbours would fear being smothered, but that fear is greatly enhanced by the nature of South African society. First there is fear of capitalist exploitation—of the South Africans drawing off the wealth for their own profit, and of major multi-national companies like Anglo-American dominating their economies. Every offer of South African aid must send a shiver down somebody's spine.

The reaction against South Africa's racism is even stronger. How can the leaders of the neighbouring Black states easily accept cooperation with a country in which men are denied rights on the basis of having a Black skin? As Julius Nyerere said, the situation in South Africa is "a negation of our very existence". The Black rulers see South Africa as the last act in a drama which has witnessed the overthrow of colonialism across the continent, and the international rejection of race as a criterion for political and social dominance. They would dearly like to see that drama completed.

Recently the Black states have held meetings to discuss a new regional cooperative structure which would exclude South Africa but would draw in some territories farther north like Tanzania and Zaire. They hope, with international support, to create new communications systems and new means of pooling their economic and technical resources, but at best such a scheme is very long term and very expensive, and at worst may be no more than pie in the sky. For the present the tension will continue between the need to cooperate with South Africa to achieve economic goals and the bitter resentment against a society based on racial discrimination.

That tension will be reflected in tough policy decisions. South Africa's Black neighbours will be urged at the UN and the OAU to adopt an aggressive stance and support the guerrilla armies, but at home (and as already noted for Mugabe and Machel) such pressures will be tempered by the realization of the costs and dangers. Obviously South Africa may take economic counter measures against hostile neighbours, and even more obviously military measures against guerrillas. In addition guerrillas create internal disruption, and tend to become a law unto themselves. The response is therefore likely to be a cautious with strong diplomatic and ideological opposition to the Republic but the acceptance of continued cooperation in economic and communications matters, and little overt support for the guerrillas.

The tension between the hopes of the Black neighbouring states to see an end to White racism and their fears of the consequences of war, and the Black states' ambitions to assert their independence while having no immediate prospect of breaking their reliance on the White south, characterize the region. The abiding image of southern Africa is of tensions and contrasts—of great wealth and grinding poverty, of cooperation alongside mutual suspicion and of trust, of great political promise matched by fears of bloody revolutionary war.

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BOOKS

Shades of the prison-house

Power/Knowledge : selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977 by Michel Foucault
edited by Colin Gordon
Harvester Press, £18.50
ISBN 0 85527 557 X

Herculine Barbin : being the recently discovered memoirs of a nineteenth-century French hermaphrodite
introduced by Michel Foucault
Harvester Press, £8.50
ISBN 0 85527 273 2

Michel Foucault : the will to truth by Alan Sheridan
Tavistock, £10.50 and £4.50
ISBN 0 422 77350 6 and 76570 8

by Leslie Hill

Of all the prominent intellectual figures to have come to the forefront in France over the last two decades, Michel Foucault has been, to British eyes, perhaps one of the most fascinating, but also one of the most recalcitrant. The paradox is illustrated well by these three books. With the publication of *Herculine Barbin* and Colin Gordon's selection of recent writings, the number of books written or edited by Foucault available in English has now risen to 12. Yet at the same time, both Gordon, in presenting his collection, and Alan Sheridan, in prefacing his own introductory study, speak of the need to make rulers see South Africa as the last act in a drama which has witnessed the overthrow of colonialism across the continent, and the international rejection of race as a criterion for political and social dominance. They would dearly like to see that drama completed.

The reasons for this are double many. Within the spectrum of university curricula and specialized disciplines, Foucault's position is shifting and complex. Professor of the History of Systems of Thought at the Collège de France, he straddles areas normally associated with history, philosophy, politics, sociology, or the like. By the same token, yet his work cannot be located with confidence in any of these, though formulating crucial questions for the exercise and function of each. Moreover, Foucault's language, with its radical incisiveness and elaborate rhetoric, not only poses problems of translation (though in this respect Foucault has, for the most part, been well served), but also proves difficult to accommodate to accepted canons of discourse.

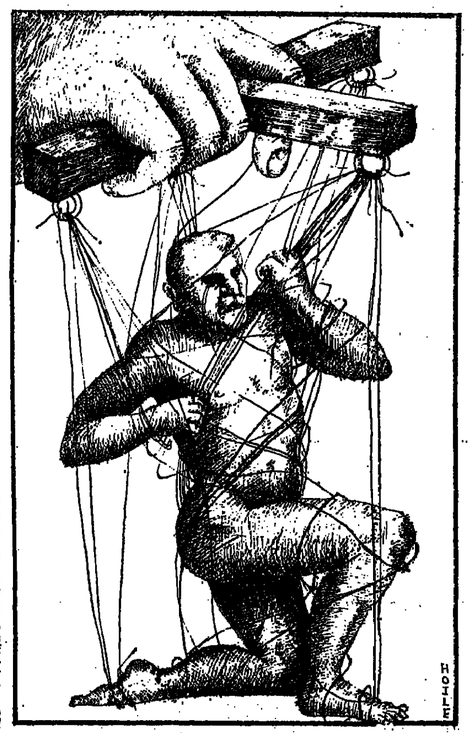
There are difficulties, too, of political context. For Foucault is not a writer engaged in the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, but rather one concerned, as he puts it here, with "doing historical work that has political meaning, utility and effectiveness". And in France, where of all countries the legitimacy of parliamentary institutions has perhaps been more fiercely contested than in a country like our own, Foucault's work has found an echo and confirmation in many areas of political activity which have emerged since the events of 1968. Foucault's growing preoccupation with specific technologies of political power has converged suggestively with the actions of those who, throwing off the yoke of bourgeois political parties, have sought, within institutions like the prisons as well as outside them, to claim greater control over their own bodies.

But in this Foucault is not unique. It may be that the underlying reasoning for Foucault's "untimely" position (and the word here, like much else, is Nietzsche's) derive from the way his work has called into question many cherished assumptions. His work invites a radical rethinking of such notions as the neutrality of scientific truth and the progressive acquisition of knowledge through trial and error, just as it challenges us to reexamine the idea that political power is increasingly centralized within the state and that power emanates from ideological oppression and ownership of the means of production. So much is clear from Colin Gordon's excellent anthology of recent interviews and lectures or articles. In these texts, either alone or in discussion with a variety of partners who range from Maoist militants to Marxist intellectuals, historians, geographers, psychoanalysts and others, Foucault explores much of the documentary and theoretical background to his two most recent books, *Discipline and Punish*, and the first volume of his *History of Sexuality—The Will to Knowledge*. The persistent focus of these dialogues is identified by Colin Gordon's title, *Power/Knowledge*. Gordon himself adds an afterword and provides an exhaustive bibliography of Foucault's writings.

The central thrust of Foucault's recent work, as reflected in these interviews, has been to demonstrate, by historical research as well as theoretical inquiry, the inadequacy of traditional juridical conceptions of political power. Foucault views their emphasis on the legal character of political authority as misleading—irrespective of whether the purpose is to sanction the practice of power by the few on behalf of the many, or to challenge the repressive nature of such power in the name of a more equable or more compassionate rule of law. For Foucault, such conceptions derive more from the monarchic pre-history of modern industrialized societies, and survive as a mystificatory spectacle to pacify social conflict and to blur the effective history of political power. In the realm of theory, Foucault argues, the monarch's head has yet to fall.

The burden of Foucault's studies of the strategies of power at work in the realms of the prison and sexuality is that, already from the close of the eighteenth century, political power ceases to be an apparatus which merely condemns, excludes or represses. Modern societies, for Foucault, function not as societies of repression, but as societies bent on normalization and technical control. This is not to deny that, in specific instances, power does impose penalties of silence and practise acts of exclusion. Foucault himself had already argued as much in his earlier *Madness and Civilisation*.

In that book his purpose was to read off the repressive nature of western rationalism and psychiatric methods from the way the mad had been confined and institutionalized and expropriated of their possibilities of language. And despite the criticisms he addresses in these interviews to the romanticism of that book—it had conceived of madness as an unchanging and irreducibly alien silence—Foucault is content to maintain the general approach he adopted. But he is ready to concede in part issues and lines of his later work has sought to place the concept of repression within a much larger context. Here he finds that control lies not only in curbing people's undesirable actions but also in actively inciting desirable behaviour. In the disciplinary or, more recent studies, power is no longer viewed as a preeminently negative force operating through a system of prohibitions and sanctions. Rather, he argues, power needs to be understood as a positive and productive resource, as a technology which has vitally transformed both ourselves and the world we inhabit. Power asserts itself creatively, and produces, under such names as rationality or sexuality, new areas for scrutiny and control, new tactics and techniques for subjugation.



Examples abound in Foucault's work of this shift in the regimes of political power. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for instance, the extension and development of the prison signalled a complex reorganization in the tactics of political power. No longer marked in their flesh by the stigmata of their crimes and held up for public inspection, offenders became the objects of new types of knowledge and inquiry, now aimed at correcting the soul rather than punishing the body. Though the prison failed (as it continues to fail) in the avowed intention of eliminating crime, it was successful in other strategic and productive ways. For it now became possible to encircle crime by confining it to a particular sub-class of social deviants, kept carefully distinct from the working population at large. At the same time the siting of prisons in the heart of many cities acted as a reminder to the wayward. As a result, criminality was less liable to take on the collective and generalized form of open rebellion, and close surveillance could be maintained with the aid of informers, spies and *agents provocateurs*. In turn, the invention of this new milieu of criminality served as an important tool in justifying and making possible a more extensive policing of society as a whole, as well as helping to populate the new colonial acquisitions and, in some cases, as in Louis Napoléon's *coup* of 1851, in assisting the takeover of government. In each of these instances, the prison became a means not of repressing crime, but of managing it, not of eliminating criminality, but of utilizing it for tactical and strategic ends.

Cast in parallel but distinct fashion, Foucault argues that since the seventeenth century a sequence of historical shifts, involving an extension of religious techniques of confession, new methods in the scientific scrutiny of sex and new procedures of psychiatric inquiry, has slowly transformed us into the willing hostages of a shameful enigma, that of our sexuality. From Foucault's viewpoint, sexuality is not a biological given, but an invention of knowledge and a creation of power. And we would be singularly ill-advised, Foucault argues, to expect from an unharnessing of our sexuality an emancipation from precisely those politics, which, far from repressing sex, have taught us that it is the essence of our psychological well-being.

It is clear that, in Foucault's recent work, the relation between power and knowledge has become crucial. But power, for Foucault, does not distort or corrupt the ideal objectivity of knowledge, nor does knowledge act as a vehicle of oppression for political power. Rather, the two are mutually implying. Power, Foucault argues, is imminent in knowledge. Yet Foucault does not suggest that power and knowledge are in some way a violation of the dignity and sanctity of the individual. The individual, both as a concept and as a reality is the historical product of a centuries-long labour of inquiry. The individual does not precede power and knowledge but is one of their creations.

In Foucault's studies, human beings, individuals or the sovereign masses are not the actors of history, for political power applies itself to anonymous bodies. As in medicine or penology, knowledge and power intervene directly on to the human flesh, dividing it up into a series of objects for investigation and control, charting out its movements. Knowledge works on human bodies as on so many raw materials, transforming and reshaping them to produce new relations of power and new areas of surveillance.

Political power, from this perspective, is not the possession of a social class, but a proliferating, anonymous force which cannot be attributed to the ideological self-expression of a unified economic group. Indeed, the hegemonic dominance of one class over another in our societies is a *result* of a dispersed technology of power, and cannot, for Foucault, serve as a concept for analysing it. Disseminated through many and varied discourses and institutions, power possesses no single determining centre and cannot be identified with a monolithic state apparatus, which it largely outstrips. It is here that Foucault's reappraisal of the ground and theory of contemporary Marxism is at its most stringent. But the relation to Marx is a complex one, for while Foucault rejects the thesis that power is determined in the last instance by the economic base, he does so in order to rework and extend the notion of politics as struggle and conflict. Indeed, in his recent work, far from relying on structuralist models of analysis, Foucault's frames of reference are those of strategy and combat. Politics, he suggests, in a characteristic reversal, is the continuation of warfare by other means.

There are those who would charge that Foucault's account of political power is unduly tentacular and ubiquitous. It is true that Foucault offers scant comfort to traditional theorists of the left in their search for the weakest link in the chain of power. But the essential impulse behind his work is unmistakable. For his endeavour is to throw light, by a scrutiny of the past, on the material history of the present, and he has not shrunk from associating himself with groups, like prisoners' organizations, which have striven, in localized arenas, to modify the strategic balance of political power. For Foucault, while power is dispersed through the whole network of society, it also provokes as its own inevitable corollary corresponding possibilities of resistance. Power is a two-way relationship, and it may be prised from the hands of those it serves. If there is no privileged centre to the political stage, this at least means that power can be countered on its multiple fronts by acts of local and direct resistance.

In its own modest way, *Herculine Barbin*, one of the case histories from Foucault's multi-volume history of sexuality, chronicles one such resistance to the regimes of power/knowledge. For some years, in his work on asylums, hospitals, prisons and sexuality, Foucault has been moving towards what may only be described as a political history of bodies. In his publication of the memoirs of Herculine Barbin and the accompanying dossier of medical and legal reports he gives one glimpse of what lies within the orbit of such a history. The book documents an episode in the elaboration of knowledge about sexuality and the application of that knowledge to human bodies.

Herculine Barbin was born a hermaphrodite, equipped, as the medical reports state, with embryonic male genitalia but also many female features. Raised as a girl in the cloying atmosphere of a convent school, Herculine recounts the pleasures and intimacies of those early years with guileless simplicity. At her majority, however, after a strange interlude with a fellow-schoolgirl, it comes to light, through the involvement of the church and medical science, that she is not what she has been taken to be. In other centuries, Foucault tells us, she would have had the choice of determining her own sex, on condition that she abide by that decision. In 1860, however, things have changed, and medical science reclasses her as a male. Unable, as her own account bitterly underscores, to adapt to the demands of the world to which she has been exiled, Abel, as she is eloquently renamed, retreats protesting into the dejected solitude of his own body and, in what some will see as an act of desperate resistance, commits suicide at the age of 30.

Both *Herculine Barbin* and *Power/Knowledge* provide a direct and challenging introduction to Foucault's work to date. Alan Sheridan's study, *Michel Foucault : the will to truth*, offers an indirect route, and gives a closely sympathetic overall account of Foucault's published writings. Its purpose, as the author freely admits, is to give a running commentary on Foucault's work, interlarding its general assessment of Foucault's importance with extensive quotation and summary. Sheridan displays a cogent and meticulous knowledge of his subject, and brings to bear in his exposition of Foucault's work the precise attention to detail and nuance which characterizes the translator he has often been, though there are times when he tends to view Foucault's shifting itinerary as an unduly well-wrought whole and despite the note of shrillness which accompanies his somewhat schematic account of Foucault's relation to Marxism, Sheridan has written a book which unfamiliar or perplexed readers will consult with profit. Sheridan would doubtless be the first to admit that his own purpose in writing will have been fulfilled if, as a result, Foucault's work is pushed closer to the centre of debate in this country. But he would no less concede that there is no substitute to the excitement and energy communicated by prolonged exposure to Foucault's own imposing body of work.

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BOOKS

Urban networks

Exploring the City: inquiries toward an urban anthropology
by Ulf Hannerz
Columbia University Press, £8.80
ISBN 0 231 03982 4

Urban anthropology as a recognized branch of the discipline is but a decade old; though there are earlier ethnographic reports of city life. Increasingly numbers of social anthropologists are attracted to the city and though many focus on those immigrants whose strange and exotic costumes are alien to the dominant western pattern, the native white is today no longer outside the anthropologists' purview. The city environment poses new challenges for the anthropologist, leading him to develop his theories and techniques. The anthropology *of* the city shapes anthropology *in* the city.

With skill and elegance Hannerz traces themes in the development of urban research, primarily in the work of the Chicago school of sociologists and the Manchester / Rhodes Livingstone Institute social anthropologists. He begins significantly with W. I. Thomas who emphasized the need to understand how the people being studied viewed the world, their "definition of the situation", and who advocated the use of personal documents. Under his direction valuable ethnographic studies of the so-called "disorganized" groups in Chicago were conducted. His successor Robert Park emphasized social ecology in a more sociological approach; but it was Park's son-in-law Robert Redfield who coined the term "folk culture", and contrasted it with the concept of "urbanization".

The Manchester social anthropologists who for the most part had started their careers with conventional studies of traditional rural society and then moved onto the Copper Belt, emphasized both the autonomy of the town and the persistence of tribalism within it. The idea of the steady detribalization of the native was rejected in favour of a model emphasizing behaviour which alternated as the individual moved between urban and rural contexts. Much of the data collected was presented as detailed analyses of specific situations from which generalizations were then drawn, a mode which Hannerz in turn advocates. One Manchester, John Barnes, developed the concept of social networks in his study of a Norwegian village; another, Clyde Mitchell, formalized the analysis of such networks. As Hannerz says, the study of networks made "relational analysis" more adaptable in the study of an increasingly varied set of social structures" (page 172). They focused attention upon the individual in seeing his network as a means of social control and as a resource for manipulation. The structural pattern of networks replaced that of institutions. Hannerz completes his survey with a discussion of the "presentation of self" of Erving Goffman, who was influenced both by the Chicago school and (through a sojourn in Edinburgh) by British social anthropology.

Hannerz defines social anthropology as the study of individual participation in specific situations; by participant observation the anthropologist examines primarily the individual's consciousness of the situation and the networks of relationships. These relationships belong to five domains: kinship, work, recreation, neighbourhood and traffic (the casual encounter); cities can be differentiated in the extent to which these domains are either segregated or overlapping. Individuals differ in their network type—some are socially isolated, some are encapsulated within a small circle of friends in which all domains find expression, for some the friendships of one domain are segregated from those of others. Members of a single network develop a sub-culture within the city. Contrary to those who see the task of urban anthropology as the description of the city as a single institution, Hannerz sees it as a multitude of social networks.

In beginning with Thomas and ending with Goffman, Hannerz clearly indicates his concern with individual behaviour. His metaphors reflect his approach—the city is a supermarket in which the individual shops around for ready-made roles; or a stage on which manequins "put a variety of meanings on show" for public inspection, approval or rejection. Hannerz continually emphasizes that the city is part of a wider social system, but he follows the Manchester school in limiting anthropological attention to the specific situation, influenced though it may be by external factors.

The actions of the individual are seen thus to derive more from within his own consciousness than from the demands of the outside world. In citing the intriguing variety of menial occupations found in the informal sector of Third World cities Hannerz stresses the ingenuity of the city folk rather than the economy which obliges them to alleviate their poverty in this way. In Hannerz's anthropology men are busy interacting with one another, but they seem to have no view of the world as a whole, or their position in it. His approach leads to the specification of subcultures within the city, emphasizing its heterogeneity. A different approach, equally favoured by contemporary urban anthropologists but ignored by Hannerz, focuses on basic needs, on strategies for achieving these, the opportunities and constraints provided by society. The individual is here seen as an integral part of his society, not as an atom within the totality; the primary focus is upon the society—not the individual.

Nevertheless, Hannerz has provided a most stimulating discussion; but many, while valuing his insights, will not wish to define urban anthropology quite as he has done.

P. C. Lloyd

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Class and cultural identity

The Basques: the France years and beyond
by Robert P. Clark
University of Nevada Press, $17.50
ISBN 0 87417 057 5

In the transition period between Franco's death and the institution of democracy, the ethnic nationalist movements within the Spanish state reached a peak of expectation and enthusiasm. The strident demands of Basque nationalists in particular had become a major problem for the government in Madrid, because its delicate moves to keep the peace and institute political freedoms under the eyes of suspicious right-wing generals were threatened by ETA, the Basque left-wing terrorist movement. In this book, Robert P. Clark traces the development of the nationalist movement from the end of the nineteenth century to the present; this is a detailed modern account in English of a subject previously dealt with mostly in Spanish.

His approach is to build a three-part narrative that traces first of all the growth of the PNV, the Basque Nationalist Party, founded in 1895 by Sabino Arana, through its development until 1936 and its subsequent role in the Spanish Civil War and the government in exile; then he deals with the Franco period, the political decline of the PNV and the emergence of ETA in the late 1950s; and in part three takes a close look at the post-Franco period, following in detail the amnesty demands of the Basque people, their behaviour in the 1977 general elections and finally their response to the Madrid government's new constitution. A postscript briefly mentions the 1979 elections.

The three parts of this book are linked thematically around a set of issues: what the author sees as the clash between ethnicity and economic class as a determinant of Basque politics; the effects of industrialization on the Basque people; and the violence of ETA under a repressive dictatorship and under today's centre-right Madrid government.

Professor Clark's stance is made clear at the start. Married to the daughter of an exiled Basque nationalist he feels an emotional commitment to the cause of the PNV, and this is the basis for his understanding of the clash between ethnicity and economic class in Basque politics. Recognition of this personal involvement is important for an appreciation of the book; it is reinforced in his chapter on the organization of the PNV during the Franco years. This starts as a description of the party's organization and its internal quarrels over the strategy for achieving self-government, but quickly becomes an account of one party member's personal experiences as an activist. The strength of this approach is the way it conveys the vitality and resolve of the Basque response to the exalted state nationalism of Franco, and the small nation's refusal to accept the dictator's cultural death sentence.

What is somewhat unclear from this account is why Basques of all ages, not simply the young generation, fell away from the party in the 1950s, tired of its Catholic conservatism, its bourgeois values and its failure to give a coherent voice to the working class of the Basque coastal cities in their desire to attack Franco's exploitation of the economy of the regions to bolster his centralist oligarchy.

The chapter on Basque-Spanish economic relationships is disappointing because it emerges as a conventional account of Franco's economic policy from autarchy to the Opus Dei; only one fifth deals with the involvement of Basque capital with Madrid. Writing of the labour movement, however, the social and environmental effects of rapid industrialization and an influx of non-Basque workers is forcefully conveyed.

This account of the Basques and their struggle for national identity will not please those who regard regionalist aspirations as irrelevant to the basic issue of how to combat the economic interests of a centre-right government whether it is to be found in Madrid or in the autonomous Basque country. Because of his support for the PNV, the author also leaves unclear the ultimate nature of the link between the PNV and Prime Minister Suárez's party, the UCD, in their attempt to make the Basque country safe for their own economic future. The author hopes that the PNV will refashion a new alliance of ethnicity and class to meet new challenges facing the Basque workers. However, that task has fallen to groups who are far more radical than the PNV (mentioned at the end of this book), whose sympathies are close to ETA's attitudes if not its methods. They see no clash between their economic class as workers and their cultural identity as Basques.

This is a welcome study of a subject long neglected in English. It will be useful to all students of contemporary Spain.

John Hollyman

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Passions, pains and aspirations

The Letters of Karl Marx
edited by Saul K. Padover
Prentice-Hall, £12.95
ISBN 0 13 531533 6

This is not a collection of letters to be recommended to those primarily interested in either the intellectual development of Karl Marx or the great theoretical debates in which he became embroiled. These subjects are better followed through collections of Marx's writings which combine extracts from his published work with the relevant correspondence.

Professor Padover makes no attempt to provide descriptions of the ideological debates which make sense of some sections of the letters, nor does he discuss the precise nature of Marx's theoretical disagreements with Lassalle, despite a chapter devoted explicitly to the correspondence between these two giants of the early socialist movement in Germany. Notes which simply identify Feuerbach as "materialist philosopher" and Johann Most as an "anarchist" hardly help to clarify matters to any great extent. This is not to say that the letters collected here tell us nothing of importance at the theoretical level. We can find a brilliant denunciation of Proudhon's simplistic economics, Marx's famous observations on the potential of the Russian peasant commune and other theoretical interventions, though these have usually appeared in English translation previously.

Such complaints, however, do not invalidate the purpose of this publication, for what it intends is not to provide an intellectual history of Marx through his correspondence but rather a collection of personal letters which evoke his passions, pains and aspirations at a much more intimate level. In this end Professor Padover does provide examples that have not appeared in English translation before; and a full picture of Marx's thirst for wit, medical problems, loves and hates emerges. We find a mass of enormous erudition, using quotations from Shakespeare, the classics of ancient Greece, and French dramatists of the seventeenth century, and indulging in the etymology of English words; a man interested in the natural sciences, in primitive societies as well as the depredations of modern capitalism. Much of the correspondence with Engels (almost a half of the total) is dominated by pathetic pleas for financial support, by complaints about carbuncles, by sexist remarks about female incompetence, by spectacularly rude comments about Lassalle, once described as "the Nigger Jew", and about the latter's mistress, the Countess von Hatzfeldt of whom Marx writes: "She is a cunning mixture of some Greek statue which still boast a fine shape whose heads have been cruelly 'knappered' by the vicissitudes of time."

The same Marx, however, could be genuinely compassionate regarding the life in which he had subjected his own dear wife and deplore the passing of the butt of so much of his anger and irony, Lassalle. In short, we do gain witness of a most eloquent testimony to the power of human feeling, often unloving and unlovable, sometimes tender and caring, always preoccupied with the prospects of that revolution which on numerous occasions he believed to be imminent.

This collection of his letters gives a valuable insight to these various and often contradictory aspects of the personality of Karl Marx, but it tells us nothing new.

Richard Geary

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China's rise to great power status

Chinese Foreign Policy: the Maoist era and its aftermath
by Joseph Camilleri
Martin Robertson, £25.00
ISBN 0 85520 330 7

Joseph Camilleri is based at La Trobe University in Australia and has already published a standard work on Australian foreign policy, so one may open this book expecting to find a new, refreshing non-European outlook on the politics of the Far East. However, much of the work for this volume was done during a sabbatical year at the London School of Economics and the narrative style of diplomatic history inspired by Geoffrey Goodwin sets the tone. Still, there is much that is interesting and original in the text.

The story is about China's rise to great power status. It begins with Mao taking China to a policy of accepting help from the Soviet Union in order to consolidate the liberation of China and to hold off the threat of American imperialism; but the markedly different stages of economic and political development of China and the Soviet Union meant that by about 1954 China was forced to formulate an independent foreign policy. A militant phase ensued in which attempts were made to lead the Third World in an anti-imperialist united front strategy. This came to an end in 1962 with the recall of the ambassadors from abroad and the first successful H-bomb test.

The Chinese Government then began an intense policy of peaceful coexistence which, with a sharp diplomatic offensive in 1970/71, resulted in admission to the United Nations and membership of the Security Council. The rapprochement with the United States meant that China was now leaning to the other side and Peking's obsessive anti-Sovietism came into full flood. It was not until the end of the decade that real signs of softening of the Sino-Soviet conflict were visible.

Looking towards the future, the author emphasizes the key role of the modernization of the economy, and sees little sign that this is likely to be "any less turbulent than it has been in the last three decades". The concluding note is that this "factor will no doubt combine with the rapid transformation of international relations to produce in the years ahead new and dramatic shifts in China's diplomatic and strategic behaviour".

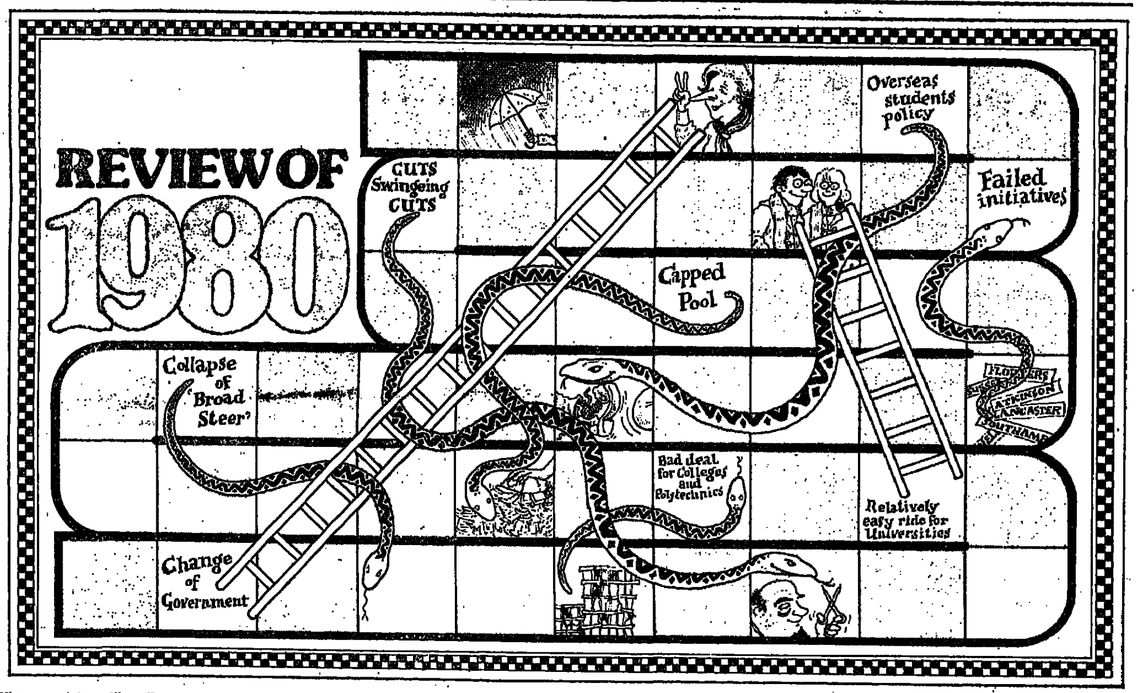
Camilleri divides his period into three distinct phases. The first he describes as the revolutionary phase from 1949 to 1962 in which the traditional Sinocentric view of the world was blended with new international outlook challenging the existing world order. This was followed by a transitional phase from 1969 to 1973 following the cultural revolution in which the Chinese leadership began to reappraise past policies, and to seek and achieve new international respectability. It was in this phase that the concepts of international disorder and of the three worlds were developed. This was followed by the post-revolutionary phase from 1973 onwards, with the emergence of Deng Xiaoping to build a new united front to counter alleged Soviet expansionism. It is in this concluding phase that the author appears to be more willing to rise above narrative and attempt some penetrating analysis. The treatment of the complicated situation in South East Asia is especially good.

There are only occasional glimpses of dissension at home within the monolithic support of Chinese foreign policy. It is possible for barbaning adjustments in Peking to have any meaningful course with members of the Chinese political leadership at a diplomatic gathering? How do Chinese diplomats succeed (as indeed they have done) in sensing that changing situations at home and abroad make possible shifts in China's policy towards other countries (with Japan for example)? If these are elements that we know so little about then we are necessarily restricted in the narrative of events.

This book has a splendid bibliography. And new romanization of Chinese is used. However the text is sprinkled with too many misprints.

Maurice Hookham

Maurice Hookham was formerly senior lecturer in politics at the University of Leicester.



Rhodes to freedom — or to nowhere

Nineteen eighty, like all zero years, can be described as the first year of a new decade or the last year of an old one with equal accuracy. Twelve months ago, with Mrs Thatcher newly in office and the post-war "social" democratic consensus crumbling apparently beyond repair, most people probably felt that the first description was the more accurate.

Today looking back many people will have changed their minds. 1980, despite the surface impression of turmoil, turned out to be a year of stasis—sinking radicals, of left and right, might even say of paralysis—not of change. It was the first full year of Mrs Thatcher's government, but the cuts did not turn out to be as bloody as expected. It was a year in which initiative after initiative, Mr Alan Thompson's "broad steer", Lord Bloomfield's blueprint for medical education in London, the Atkinson report on Russian studies, and many others, was firmly knocked on the head.

Even on the broader intellectual plane 1980 was a year in which, despite the renewed efforts of the Hayekian Institute of Economic Affairs on the right and the excitement generated on the left by the debate between E. P. Thompson and Perry Anderson, no systematic patterns of ideas or even bundles of values established a solid claim to succeed the declining social democratic consensus as the new orthodoxy.

In the increasingly airless world of higher education policy the revolution in language was completed in 1980. Two years ago under Shirley Williams the obsession was with demography and everyone had to learn its specialised vocabulary—APR, willingness rate, age cohort, Model C. Today under Mark Carlisle (really Rhodes Boyson) the obsession is with money and the vocabulary has become even weirder. Capping the pool and fixing the quantum are now the patois of policy makers.

But this revolution has been confined largely to the lions of ministerial statements and the language of "policy" conferences. Although the language of the cuts has profoundly affected the mood of higher education, it has so far had much less impact on its actual behaviour.

At the level of institutions there is still little acceptance of the fact that a corner has been turned, that the Robbins years are over, and that "steady state" higher education has arrived.

This is not surprising. Despite the cuts no institutions have been closed (although hundreds of companies have gone out of business); only a trickle of staff have been made redundant (although unemployment generally has risen to more than two million), and opportunities for school leavers to enter higher education have not been significantly eroded (although some other public services like housing have already been decimated).

This is not an argument that higher education has escaped the cuts. Far from it. This year's cuts have already wiped out all the difficult gains achieved during the precarious restoration of the Callaghan Williams years, and even more savage cuts are in prospect for 1981-2.

It is simply to say that the actual reduction in public expenditure on higher education in 1980 was far less than the Tories had bloodthirstily anticipated, and that the most dangerous impact of the cuts has been indirect and insidious and therefore particularly difficult to combat. Perhaps the greatest danger higher education faced in 1980 was a collapse into demoralised negativism.

The outlook for 1981 is terrible—but not perhaps as hopeless as it may appear in mid-winter after an extra £30m has been sliced off the university grant, so making a mockery of the earlier promise of level funding and after a possibly even more damaging £12m squeeze on the polytechnics and colleges.

Some may dismiss any mitigation as whistling in the dark. But there have been just a few indication that the present Government's nerve for cutting expenditure is beginning to crack. The latest round of cuts fell far short of what was required according to Mrs Thatcher's iron monetarist theory. The 6 per cent pay limit is is another straw in the same wind.

Neither is much comfort to higher education in the short term. If the full "monetarist" cuts had been insisted upon, 20 years of progress would have been wiped out. The pay limit will reduce the living standards of university and polytechnic teachers quite unfairly. But both, although bad news for 1981, may presage more rational policies and therefore better news in 1982 and 1983. (The proximity of elections always smoothes down the rough edges of ideology).

The real damage caused by the cuts of 1980 was indirect and three-fold. First, the cuts were maldistributed, perhaps by design (cutting the public sector more than the universities?) but more likely by accident. In the universities this has had the malign but manageable result of wiping away the rather blurred planning horizon provided by Shirley Williams.

The effect on the polytechnics and colleges has been more serious. Some institutions have suffered virtually no cut at all in their budgets; others, concentrated by some quirk of the pool in the suburban fringe of London, have had to cope with cuts of more than 10 per cent.

There is not yet any guarantee that the position will be more equitable, or even controllable, next year. Ministers have continued to set their faces against a national body for the non-university sector, although in the last few months their determination has visibly weakened in the face of the difficulty of capping the pool and of the recommendation from the Select Committee for a CCP. 1981 could be the year of the national body.

So their officials had to fall back on trying to steer the polytechnics and colleges by technical manipulation of the AFE pool. By the end of the year it was clear that whatever

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REVIEW OF 1980

The year of the broad steer

by John O'Leary

It was a year which the architects of higher education policy might prefer to forget. The Government was roundly criticized by friend and foe alike for the dearth of policy directives, while those which did emerge attracted little enthusiasm.

Despite, or perhaps because of this, 1980 saw more outside examinations of the higher education system than at any time in the previous decade. But for ministers and civil servants the year was taken up largely in defence of unpopular measures such as the raising of overseas students' fees, further budget cuts, changing the system of funding student unions and clamping down on course approvals.

Even Mr Alan Thompson, the deputy secretary with responsibility for higher education at the Department of Education and Science, had to admit at the end of 1979 that there was a vacuum in Government policy for post-school provision. The despairing plea last month from Dr George Fulloy, director of Sheffield Polytechnic, for new direction of any sort demonstrated that little had changed on this score during 1980.

Mr Thompson has now retired, handing over the reins to Mr Richard Bird, but not before he had launched a last attempt to change the focus of Government policy. His proposal, which is still the subject of various feasibility studies, was for a new, watered-down version of manpower planning, dubbed a "broad steer".

Accepting that detailed attempts to tailor higher education provision to predicted market needs had been a failure and could not be implemented across the board, the DES (rather less than unanimously) proposed central direction of numbers in broad subject groupings. This would be enforced by manipulation of the advanced further education pool and by the University Grants Committee.

It was not a suggestion which found much favour outside the DES. A lengthy examination by the Department of Employment's Unit for Manpower Studies produced a lukewarm response and the educational establishment was predictably hostile. The scepticism of Dr Rhodes Boyson, under-secretary for higher education, on the subject would seem to be the final nail in its coffin.

However, as financial pressures continue to mount, so does the emphasis on vocational courses. Nothing put this in starker terms than the DES Circular 1/80, which warned colleges and polytechnics that only courses with a proven student market and of a predominantly vocational character could be launched in future. Existing course approval regulations would be strictly enforced unless there was good reason for an exception to be made.

Policy

It was to be the first step in a rationalization of courses throughout the country, Dr Boyson said, and was one which struck fear into the heart particularly of those colleges still in the throes of reorganization. Although a supposedly temporary measure, the circular was simply renewed and not updated at the end of the year.

The UGC gave notice of similar exercises, first with the Atkinson report on Russian studies, and later through its chairman's warning that universities could expect greater intervention in their affairs. There was even the prospect of co-operation between the sectors in an agreement to establish a number of trans-binary committees at the DES to look at common issues.

The committees are the first manifestation of a new approach at the DES since the promotion of Mr Bird. The three higher education branches have been slimmed to two, doing away with the separate universities' section. It is a development viewed with suspicion outside the department but one which should facilitate more co-ordinated action.

The move towards planning across the binary line was one of the themes of the year's main policy review, which took place in the all-party Select Committee on Education, chaired by Mr Christopher Price MP. Wide-ranging evidence over six months held few surprises, as the universities proclaimed their independence and the polytechnics pleaded for theirs.

Matters were complicated by the emergence of a minority report by Mr Dafydd Thomas and Mr Stan Thorne which, despite its thoroughly radical recommendations, only narrowly failed to carry the committee. It called for the abolition of the UGC, the establishment of a local dimension throughout higher education and sought to place responsibility for the whole system, including the universities, under the Council of Local Education Authorities.

The majority report, written by Mr Price, was more moderate, concentrating on measures which the MPs thought capable of implementation in the near future. The performance of the DES came in for most criticism and it was proposed that Regional Advisory Councils should be abolished, while Her Majesty's Inspectors should lose their role in higher education.

On the positive side, a new version of the Oakes Committee's proposed national body for public sector higher education was high on the list of recommendations. The group, to be known as the Committee for Colleges and Polytechnics, would be responsible for planning and would be expected to work closely with the UGC but would have no financial role.

The MPs echoed a strong call from a number of witnesses for more resources for continuing education and new moves to increase the participation rate among school leavers, which had continued to decline. They also favoured greater openness both by Government and the institutions themselves in order to provide the maximum amount of information for potential students and those assessing the efficiency of the system.

Although the Select Committee has moved on to new areas of inquiry, three new major studies of higher education were announced during the year. One, sponsored by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, involves DES officials in an international inquiry which has already begun; the department is funding a second, national study by Professor Maurice Kogan, of Brunel University; and the Leverhulme Trust is backing a third, by Professor Gareth Williams, of Lancaster University.

At a time when participation rates are dropping and the already low proportion of working class entrants into higher education is declining still further, there will be much scope for examination but little money available for new initiatives. In 1980, while colleges and polytechnics struggled after the capping of the pool, the universities too were bound by such limits and suffered an unprecedented cut in their budget announced last month.

The universities were to lose £30m in 1981 to 1982, Mr Carlisle decreed, while a further £12m came off the advanced further education pool. Meanwhile, discussions will continue to find an acceptable method of sharing out the pool in its new, capped form. Months of talks in a committee chaired by DES Assistant Secretary Mr Stephen Jones produced only a formula for next year, involving a virtual freeze on unit costs, and work continues on a long term solution in the New Year.

With Dr Boyson due to pronounce on the thorny matter of student loans, Mr Neil Macfarlane still to present his revamped report on provision for the 16 to 18s and Mr Carlisle still to pass judgment on the effects of raising overseas students' fees, there obviously are stormy times ahead for the Government.

An obstacle race with no prizes

by Paul Flather

There have been times during the past year when polytechnics must have felt a kind of Murphy's Law was working against their better interests: each corner they turned, perhaps with a sigh of relief, revealed only another bleak horizon.

The year began with the now notorious "capping of the pool" exercise: while it is hard to defend the kind of open-ended funding arrangement that existed in the past, it is impossible to justify the manner in which the pool was closed "over-night" at £320m.

The result was widely varying cuts in the final budgets of the 30 polytechnics: while Kingston and North East London (NELP) faced cuts in the order of 15 per cent, Sheffield and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) controlled polytechnics lost about 2 per cent.

Some colleges even ended up receiving more than they had asked for while in the general confusion Liverpool city council got their sums so wrong that they asked for a re-valuation of all units in their property prior to sale. Such drastic measures were not needed on closer inspection.

What particularly annoyed polytechnics, as Mr Peter Flowerday, secretary of the Committee of Polytechnic Directors (CPD) put it, was the way they were made to suffer at the expense of utterly local events over which they had no control.

Finance officers had to sit in silent anguish as the politics of local education authorities (LEAs) affected their budgets in three distinct ways: in the drawing up of the original estimates; next as the Department of Education and Science (DES) responded in the amount of help given to offset cuts; from the capped pool; third in being menaced by the value of a penny rate of which he, which could vary from just £262,000 in Kingston to £2m in Birmingham.

The CPD, bristling under its new chairman, Dr Raymond Rickett, director of Middlesex Polytechnic, used the fall-out from the exercise to launch another campaign calling for the setting-up of a national body to oversee public sector higher education.

Dr Rickett, a Kent cricket fan who still turns out to captain the polytechnic staff XI, was a member of the ill-fated Oakes committee and so feels especially strongly on the issue of a national body.

There were some good news on this when the Select Committee report came out in favour of setting up a new Committee for Colleges and Polytechnics (CCP) to master-mind a more rational system of national funding. But there is little sign of interest in Government quarters.

The Council of Local Education Authorities however decided to take matters in their own hands, setting up their own Higher Education Group (known as Clashes). It is early days but the group has set about building bridges with all involved parties, including polytechnics. In some circles it is felt the group might emerge as an ocean for an Oakes.

Another shock for polytechnics was circular FEC(L) 7/80 which told colleges that in certain areas adequate numbers would have to be closed in the interests of rationalization. But the impact of that is not yet clear.

In fact overall recruitment has held up remarkably well in spite of all the early predictions. First-year home student enrolments increased on average by 7 per cent, for outweighing the largely expected 29 per cent fall in overseas entry.

The *cause célebres* show up the troubles faced by individual polytechnics during the year. NELP has never been far from the news and at one stage, it seems a long time ago, planned to axe 276 jobs and close two faculties. A determined fight by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (Natfhe) has meant no compulsory redundancies as yet. But Dr George Brosan, the director, still has a headache.

Polytechnics

At Huddersfield a crisis fuelled by the discovery of certain alleged financial irregularities almost led the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) to suspend all student enrolments for the current year. Last-minute manoeuvring saved the day again, the position remains far from settled.

Now Newcastle facing a possible £2m cut in its budget seems to be heading into choppy waters. All three cases illustrate perhaps the main serious development of the year, that polytechnics are now aware of their relationship with LEAs, something fundamental to their sensible functioning.

A number of polytechnics have

Gathering the nerve to enter the fray

by Ngaio Crequer

In the universities 1980 will be remembered as the year of rationalization. Talk about closures, redundancy has become commonplace and next year is expected to produce the follow-up action.

It has also been a year of preparation for the fray. The University Grants Committee has spent most of its time engaged in "discussion interviews" with the universities to pinpoint strengths and weaknesses, collect information and build up a master file.

In the knowledge that it would have to implement cuts and make cuts, and the belief that it was the best agency for ensuring necessary change (that is, contraction) it has worked and instant.

It is unsure of its strength and tactics and has asked the committees to come back with new guidance on this in the new year but Dr Edward Parkes, chairman of the UGC, has made it clear that he will not brook implacable resistance to change.

He is sensitive to charges that there has been too cosy a relationship in the past between UGC and universities and is now publicly gearing up people from a think from the passive to active.

He is aided and abetted in this by vice-chancellors who have made some noticeable changes in the past year. They began by displaying a crisp resistance to external imposition of changes. But they are keen to let Dr Parkes's views become public because they are now more willing subjects for the chop than they have been hitherto and see the battles between the UGC than with their colleagues.

Universities

To some extent it is always misleading to talk of vice-chancellors as one body as they still vary enormously in their attitudes to how best they can benefit their institutions in reflecting national trends or demands.

But increasingly over the year they have been impressed with the argument that unless they force change it will be imposed upon them. So far, in practice, these proposals for rationalization, such as Lancaster, Sussex or Southampton have been either made too quickly with too little consultation, or on poor academic merit and ultimately have left a bad taste in the mouth with little to show for it.

A similar exercise is under way in the non-medical schools at London University. That will come up against, as others have, a entrenched establishment and a declining capacity to resist necessary change.

Meanwhile other universities are getting down to the nuts and bolts of showing they are prepared to work out their own proposals before the UGC gets to them. The argument against direct intervention is that the UGC now has few public supporters.

We are still waiting to see what will happen to the Atkinson committee proposals on Russian Studies, the first major attempt at rationalization, which were published at the beginning of the year. The case is but they are now be superseded by other measures emanating from the sub-committees. Those universities which ultimately resist the report will find their recurrent grant reduced accordingly.

The year inevitably was overshadowed by the debate about overseas students.

Meanwhile the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals has grasped the nettle of tenure and will find how hard it is to. The Select Committee on higher education funding, and the Public Accounts Committee made vague and general what, comparatively, is a simple concept of tenure and it all points to a deepening future for universities and their staff for next year.

This year will end with universities knowing that something must be done, they have to make severe cuts, they are being brought into line with the public sector cash limits. Uncertainty has been replaced by certain irreparable financial damage.

REVIEW OF 1980

Fees alter Britain's image

by John O'Leary

It was an historic, and many would say disastrous, year for Britain as the home of an international community of students. New, so-called full-cost tuition fees for overseas students became probably the biggest single issue within higher and further education, attracting criticism from foreign governments and two committees of MPs.

For two-thirds of the year speculation abounded on the effects of the new fees, which had been set at £2,400 for those on arts and social science courses at colleges and polytechnics, £3,300 for pure and applied science and for some medical courses. At universities minimum fees of £2,000, £3,000 and £5,000 were set and most did not go higher.

The fees represented rises of up to 500 per cent—combined with a strong pound and already high fee levels, a swingeing blow. They would make Britain the most expensive place in the world in which to study, outstripping even some of the prestigious private universities in the United States.

Argument raged about the morality of charging the full cost and about the calculation of the fees. Many insisted that, since courses were provided primarily for home students and would go on with or without overseas participants, it was wrong to arrive at the fee by a simple division of total costs by student numbers, as the Department of Education and Science had done. Foreign students, it was said, represented only a marginal cost and should have their fees set accordingly.

This and other questions relating to the fees controversy were taken up by two Commons select committees, those for education and foreign affairs. Witnesses from all parts of the higher education system regaled the MPs with predictions of disaster as a result of falling recruitment, while others pointed to the dangers for Britain's international standing and for developing nations which depended on foreign outlets for their students.

Comprehensive studies by the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs and the Overseas Students' Trust illustrated the hazards of the new policy and impressed the MPs, who criticized Government departments for failing to produce comparable statistics. Ministers had argued that even the best that could be said about 1980 from the point of view of the colleges and institutes of higher education was that it could have been worse. The final demise of a number of victims of the last round of closures was a sharp reminder of still harsher times past.

It was a fate forecast for unnamed survivors of the Labour government's cull of teacher training but, despite the exigencies of the capped pool, strict application of manpower approval regulation and disastrous recruitment on many BEd courses, many more institutions looked like being under. Indeed, there are reasons to suppose that the colleges emerge from the year stronger as a group than they went in.

Diversified degree courses, disdained by many as a last, desperate attempt to safeguard jobs, have proved surprisingly successful in many colleges at attracting students. Nationally, too, the colleges' case is more in evidence, apparently having impressed the Select Committee on education and won greater recognition through the principals' group, the Standing Conference.

The colleges would claim to have suffered most from the two blunt instruments used to put the brake on spending in the public sector: capping the pool and the DES Circular 1/80 on course approvals. Principals complained that most colleges had already cut back to bone as a result of teacher training losses and traditionally unfavourable funding levels. Many institutions found their finances frozen at an artificially low point because of the early stages of diversification they had reached, thus putting in danger proposed new programmes.

Those which survived this threat faced the introduction of stricter application of norms for course approvals and the stipulation that new courses should have a promise market and normally be vocational in content. "It was hard to see how the multi-disciplinary, liberal arts courses which formed the bulk of diversified programmes could meet such requirements. While expansion had slowed in the polytechnics, many of the colleges were faced with the necessity to expand in order to survive.

Faced with this double dilemma, the Standing Conference went on the offensive, partly as a deliberate policy and partly through force of circumstances. Mr John Barnett, principal of the College of Ripon and York St John, retired and was succeeded as chairman of the conference by Mr Neil Merritt, director of Ealing College. Mr Merritt's more forceful style of leadership supported by Mr Barnett in his new role as research and information officer thrust the principals more into the limelight.

Colleges

They fought a determined, and at first unsuccessful, battle with the DES for membership of Mr Stephen Jones' committee examining the financing of public sector institutions, and demanded consultation on the same basis as the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics. Although refused membership of Mr Jones' group while discussions on next year's funding system took place, a representative has been included on the long-term study.

Both the Standing Conference and the Association of Principals of Colleges gave evidence to the Select Committee on Education. The committee's report while recommending no great initiatives to assist the colleges, recognized their worth and supported the principals' long-standing plea for a new government statement on the role of different types of institutions within higher education.

However, there remains serious problems within the colleges. The smaller colleges, which tend to be most reliant on teacher education, have been hit hard by the disappearance of the Certificate in Education and the tougher entry requirements for the BEd. The closure of institutions such as those in London this summer illustrated the perils of dependence on teacher training numbers.

Clearly, there will be no new list of closures like that drawn up by Mrs Shirley Williams in 1975, but the pressure working on the whole has become common parlance when the future of the colleges is discussed. At this month's conference on the Select Committee report, Mr Barnett accused local authorities of singling our institutions for closure and then starving them of finance, thus bringing about "withering" artificially.

With overseas student numbers, while never large, dropping more sharply in universities or polytechnics, and a number of the smaller institutions failing to emulate the success of their larger counterparts in filling diversified degree places, his anxiety was understandable.

Yet, for the moment, the colleges are proving a resilient breed. The withdrawal of the University of London from the validation of college degrees passed without undue difficulty, several institutions were able to announce full courses some way in advance of the closing dates and overall student numbers appear to have held steady.

John O'Leary

Overseas students

The two select committees duly produced reports which, despite Conservative majorities, were highly critical of the fees policy and the method by which it was reached. The MPs, accepting that there was little chance of changing the Government's decision for the coming academic year, called for a considerable extension of the scholarship scheme already announced. They were worried about the prospects both for British higher education and development in the Third World, and recommended the appointment of a Foreign Office minister to take overall charge of overseas student affairs.

Labour was sufficiently concerned about the prospects to devote part of its time in the Commons to a debate on a motion criticizing the Government's policy. Mr Neil Kinnock, then Opposition spokesman on education, accused Mrs Thatcher of being the recruiting sergeant for Moscow, where increasing numbers of Third World students would go in future.

Reminder of harsh times past

Only EEC students, and later refugees, were to be exempted from the new fees, and even this concession was not clear-cut. Greek students were to pay the full foreign rate for the academic year regardless of their country's membership of the Community from January 1, 1981. The exception for EEC students caused yet more bitterness among the poorer Commonwealth countries and even British colonies.

As in the Commons debate, the Government stressed the value it placed upon overseas students in its reply to the select committee reports but gave nothing more away. The reply came as Mr Carlisle was due at the Commonwealth Education Conference in Sri Lanka, where he was expected to receive a hot reception and, perhaps, to make minor concessions. In the event, and to his evident relief, Mr Carlisle escaped lightly and even enjoyed some support from sympathetic ministers. His greatest critics had already had their say on the fees issue and all were anxious to preserve the unity of the Commonwealth, with the result that the conference adopted three moderate recommendations on the subject.

By the end of the year, the real effect of the new fees was beginning to become clear, with the colleges of further and higher education seeming to be the greatest sufferers in terms of percentage loss of students. However, figures from the Universities Central Council for Admissions provided sombre warning signs for the future.

It would appear that the universities have lost an average of some 11 per cent of their foreign undergraduate intake, with serious financial consequences for those showing the greatest decline. The figure for postgraduate recruitment will be somewhat higher. But UCCA figures are revealing a drop in applications for 1981 of more than 40 per cent—a proportion which could go higher if vice-chancellors decide that fees must go up substantially next year, having found that the minima laid down did not compensate for the loss in grant income.

With many colleges suffering a loss of this magnitude already and expecting another serious decline in 1981, Government satisfaction that its predictions were relatively accurate this year seems certain to be short-lived.

Students' changing face

Mr Aaronovitch: Communist

by Paul Flather

This was the year the National Union of Students, which now claims a membership of some 12m, formally and officially put paid to its "rent-a-mob" image in favour of a more professional approach geared to responding to and representing the direct interests of its members.

This change was given substance at NUS's April national conference when the union approved a new development plan outlined in a black-covered document, *The Shape of Things To Come.*

The document was the culmination of three years' work begun during the presidency of Mr Sue Slipman, continued by Mr Trevor Phillips, her successor, and finally consolidated and implemented by the current president, Mr David Aaronovitch.

Under the new plan, which embraces wholeheartedly the principles of corporate management, the union has pruned its staff from 75 to 69 and restructured itself into four major departments: communications, research and policy, development and training, and central services, under the watchful eye of a new executive manager.

As the year ends, final appointments under this new plan are just being completed. Staff have an improved pay structure and also a closed-shop agreement with members belonging to the Association of Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Staffs.

There will be three new areas of emphasis. First, communication, where the union admits that it had reached the stage where links with outside groups were far better than with its own 750-member student unions.

Students

A new internal information officer has been appointed, the bulky and complex Main Mail system has been scrapped and instead a fortnightly house magazine will be produced from next February. The union's newspaper, *National Student*, will receive more funds and appear 10 times a year instead of seven.

Secondly a new two-person training unit will be set up in London, with officers available to travel the country to help train student union officers. Thirdly union development will be encouraged with 10 regional officers replacing the current network of field officers.

They will play a greater role in local affairs, particularly in the new system of financing student unions involving local negotiations with authorities. A full-time research officer will look into the new rules, and other research officers will look at, for example, accommodation and grants. The main sufferer under the plan will be international affairs, which will retain just one full-time officer.

The Scottish Office keeps a complement of five staff, an indication of the importance NUS attaches to Scottish affairs. It is here the union currently appears weakest, with five out of eight universities disaffiliated from the union.

One of the major pressures behind the development plans has been falling income. A number of factors, including disaffiliations early in the year, falling subscription income and an expected new VAT levy on the union's income, lead the NUS to expect a drop of about 10 per cent in its annual income of almost £1m this year.

Learning its lesson from the 1976 financial crash of NUS travel, the union has remained silent to opposition expected difficulties. The VAT charge, 15 per cent on 50 per cent of the income, is expected to cost £70,000. A new subscription system means the burden of supporting NUS has been spread more evenly among smaller and larger institutions.

For the fourth time in its history, NUS has a Communist president, Mr David Aaronovitch, 26, a history graduate from Manchester University. He has quickly shown his skill, operating a more developed style of leadership than his predecessor and although implacably opposed to Government policies, he has built a useful working relationship with Dr Rhodes Boyson, undersecretary for higher education.

His greatest success has come in the recent campaign, which he dubbed "the biggest in a decade", over new rules to finance student unions. The plans were first announced in February and NUS officers spent the rest of the year badgering Department of Education (DES) officials to reveal more details.

The day before some 25,000 students demonstrated in Glasgow and London at the lack of clear safeguards and guarantees on the future autonomy of student unions, the Government conceded one major NUS demand—its sums were wrong. An extra £3.8m will now go to students unions next year.

The second major campaign was on student loans. Here the NUS showed its new style lobbying tactics, some of them gleaned first hand from American counterparts on Capitol Hill. For some six months the union researched the issue before producing a booklet in July, *The Case Against Student Loans*, which argued loans "would be costly, inefficient and irreparably damaging to higher education".

What was significant was the booklet was the first salvo in a debate until then not formally sanctioned by the Government. When the DES did reveal it was preparing a consultative paper on loans, expected shortly, the NUS had already covered a lot of ground in defending grants.

The year ends with NUS promoting two fairly significant campaigns on Northern Ireland and campus safety. Both can be taken as signs of the more professional "trades union-like" approach being promoted NUS.

On Northern Ireland the union is urging Government reforms of all prisons to end the present crisis which threatens work done by students to promote non-sectarian links. Campus safety demands have been sparked off by the murder of a Leeds University woman student, the second student victim of the Yorkshire Ripper.

Two other campaigns of note have been to improve the training of all college lecturers and to oppose the closure of Hamilton and Callendar Park education colleges in Scotland.

Two features of general student politics have been the marked rightward shift in the Federation of Conservative Students, led by its outspoken chairman Mr Peter Young, and signs of strong anti-nuclear student feeling with dissonant groups on campuses reporting burgeoning membership.

Meanwhile there are signs of a major split between "wets" and hardliners within FCS, which has come out in support of loans and nuclear weapons as a deterrent.

The Left Alliance coalition of Liberal, Labour, Communist and some independent students continues to dominate NUS politics, although it does not have an absolute majority on the executive. Conservatives claim widespread support among students but remain on the outside of NUS, while the ultra-left groups seem to be losing ground.

In the international arena students have had little to say, although for the first time in 10 years NUS did not attend the European conference of students' unions in Prague, as a protest against the "puppet" Czech union CSUV, set up after the defeat of the Prague Spring. Now its plans to host the 1981 conference in London have run up against strong opposition.

With an expected fall in student numbers and the recession still biting, the NUS faces a bleak future. In spite of all its work under the new development plan, it could be forced into further contraction in the next few years. As its development document said: "The salad days are over."

REVIEW OF 1980

The anti-growth movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s offered the middle classes and radical youth an opportunity for "a wonderful ego trip" on which they could "demonstrate their moral fibre, aesthetic sensibilities and great-hearted concern for the problems of distant generations, even if some of them would not go out of their way to help a blind man cross the road.

"It was a bandwagon which anybody could join. No special knowledge was required—it was enough to know about the Minamata disaster in Japan and to have absorbed some misinformation about the demise of the bald-headed eagle—although a talent for passionate rhetoric demonstrating the purity of one's soul was also a help.

"In short, no more qualifications were needed than are needed to join in a debate in the House of Commons."

WILFRED BECKERMAN, the economist, discussing the Club of Rome and other critics of economic growth in the first of an occasional series of articles on influential pressure groups.

"What Anglo-Marxism so manifestly lacks today is the political anchorage achieved by the early *Fabian Society*. *If it does not rise* to the level of producing some instrument of political intervention that can be as politically focused, and relevant, as this then it will be in grave danger of ending up as a footnote in British cultural history, a doomed aberration like those other "avant garde" movements which have shot like comets over the British cultural firmament: the Hegelianism of the late nineteenth century, the aestheticism of the 1890s, or the modernism of the early twentieth century."

ROBIN BLACKBURN, editor of *New Left Review* on ten years of political change since the students stopped revolting.

JOHN HOLLOWAY, professor of modern English literature at the University of Cambridge, considered the achievement of I. A. Richards, a critical prophet who achieved honour in his own time.

"If Richards remains a guide for the present time, perhaps it is less through his theories than for his spirit and character."

"He makes one think of how Arnold, noting the defects of Byron's verse as all must now note the defects of Richards' thought, nevertheless followed Goethe in praising his 'daring, dash and grandiosity,' his 'vital influence,' his 'splendid and imperishable excellence of sincerity and strength.'

"Arnold wrestled, nothing less, with how to maintain such praise of Byron in spite of all; perhaps we have to do something of the same kind over Richards."

Hairy debate over trichotomy

In the spring the letters page was enlivened by a gloriously arcane debate over the meaning of the word trichotomy.

MARTIN WARNER, a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Warwick, inadvertently sparked off the controversy when he used the term to mean "split into three" in a book review in April.

"Incorrect", thundered **GREG BROOKS** of the University of Leeds education department. Since the root trikho meant hair Mr Warner had unintentionally produced the Greek word for haircut. Trichotomy was a neologism.

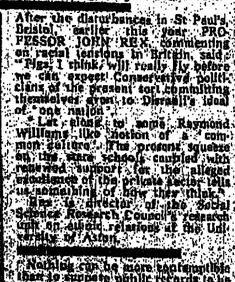
"No so", came the riposte two weeks later. The OED provided a genealogy going back to 1610 and a "tricha" an adverb meaning "in three parts" had a respectable Homeric ancestry. A view that received magisterial support in the same issue from no lesser authorities than SIR KENNETH DOVER and PROFESSOR W. S. ALLEN.

Notice of unconditional surrender was posted in June. The hapless Brooks, acknowledging the overwhelming superiority of the opposing forces, withdrew from the fray with a graceful tribute to the linguistic ingenuity of the Greeks.

After the disturbances in St Paul's, Bristol, earlier this year, PROFESSOR JOHN REX, commenting on racial tensions in Britain, said "Yes, I think will really be before we see expert Conservative politicians of the present sort committing themselves even to Disraeli's ideal of "one nation".

"Let's blame it on" says Raymond Williams, "the fashion of a common culture. The present clamour on the state school's carried with renewed surprise for the alleged abandonment of the private factor tells you something of how they think."

Ben Levitas, director of the Social Science Research Council's research unit on ethnic relations at the University of Aston.



"Nothing can be more contemptible than to suppress public records to serve a cause," CHRISTOPHER HILL quotes William Blake in a review of Lawrence Stone's The Crisis of the Aristocracy.

Voices of the year

"For 35 years we have managed to avoid a world war. But the *reasons for that have everything to* do with a balance of terror, and nothing at all to do with the legal aspirations projected from Nuremberg.

"As realists we have to accept, with the distinguished historian of international law J. H. W. Verzijl, the fact that governments are, very understandably, not much inclined *to contemplate the future prosecution* of their own members and their military leaders or members of their forces by an international organ and the submission of their acts to impartial judgment as a result of a possible accusation against them of criminal aggression, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

Put another way, proceedings of *the Nuremberg type* are contractive to men of power when the identity of victors and vanquished is conventiently settled in advance."

MICHAEL BIDDIS, professor of history at the University of Reading, reconsidering the significance of the Nuremburg trials 35 years after the court's opening public session.

"The Open University has a responsibility to help raise the standard of public awareness. In this case it can do so only by rejecting this course." J. H. EDWARDS, professor of genetics at the University of Oxford, reviewing the Open University Genetics course S299.

TERENCE MILLER began the New Year with a sardonic account of his tumultuous years as director of the Polytechnic of North London. Comparing his experience to the curate's egg—good in parts, but in general pretty drab, he complained of being confronting with "intellectual mediocrity" throughout the system.

"If war is too important to be left to the soldiers, then, by God, higher education had better not be left to the civil servants, local politicos and local education authority officials who currently control it."

Chomsky accused of betrayal

In November STEVEN LUKES launched a scathing attack on Noam Chomsky for betraying his responsibilities as an intellectual.

Last year that renowned authority on the use of language co-authored *After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology, an account of Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia.*

Lukes, commenting on this work said: "Chomsky has become obsessed by his opposition to the United States' role in Indochina that he has lost all sense of perspective.

"His argument is a case of massive overkill; discrediting serious and responsible observers as scholars and converting the truth that the US was indirectly responsible (for the situation in Cambodia) into the lie that it was directly so."

Ideological illusion of Eng. Lit.

"It is naturally hard to accept that you are a specialist in a non-subject", **TERRY EAGLETON**, fellow and tutor in English Literature at Wadham College, Oxford, observed at the beginning of the year.

"Most English faculties, merely by their existence, perpetuate the ideological illusion that there is indeed some unruptured entity called English literature, even if they make perfunctory gestures to what is tellingly termed background.

"But English literature is in fact a theoretical construction, and a heavily loaded one at that: there are always strong ideological criteria at work in the selection of suitable texts whether blatantly chauvinist ('essential Englishness') or more deviously aesthetic ('fine writing').

"Once certain works are selected, there ensues an equally ideological *practice of processing, correcting,* interpreting and ranking them in accordance with certain historically dominant values. This practice is known as literary criticism."

"History is the memory of a culture, and memory can never be free from passions and commitments", E. P. THOMPSON, the historian, said in a *THES* interview in July.

"I am not in any sense inhibited by the fact that my own passions and commitments are clear. Only when British political culture has extreme difficulties—rather than a crisis—this recall of the past has very sharp relevance to immediate concerns.

"I live within the incandescent conviction that the survival of human civilization is problematic. Writing the historical record as a historian must be influenced by the sense of threat and of the human resources to overcome it."

Edifice that is disintegrating

In September, PETER DAVID, reporting from New York on the 75th anniversary meeting of the American Sociological Association, drew an elaborate parallel between the decaying state of that city's skyscrapers and the health of American sociology.

He said: "New York's skyscrapers are rapidly disintegrating as a result of the city's air pollution. Every so often, lumps of masonry detach themselves and plunge hundreds of feet into the streets below.

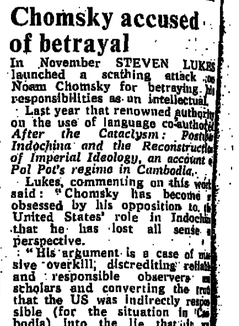
"The task of hoisting the crumbling edifice together has been entrusted largely to a small band of Mohawk Indians, famous for their bravery and surefootedness, who clamber up the towering summits patching the brickwork back into place.

"American sociology too, he said, "is a magnificent edifice which is *rapidly disintegrating*, in size and status it dwarfs its counterparts in Europe. With more than 12,000 members the American Sociological Association is exactly the wrong place to look for signs of a unified and flourishing discipline. But the discipline, and the association, are deeply divided.

"The illusion of unity is carefully contrived by a small group of elders who, like the Mohawks, watch for signs of fragmentation and scramble rapidly into action to patch up any rifts. The result is a masterpiece of impression management and an astonishing intellectual confidence trick."

"To go through life studying, analysing, speculating, reconstructing, theorising how rational or less rational decision makers may or may not have behaved, are behaving or will behave without ever seeing the process in action is like reading or writing romantic novels without ever observing, let alone experiencing sexual intercourse."

BRIAN ABEL-SMITH, professor of social administration at the London School of Economics and Political Science, discussing the role of the academic as policy advisor to government.



Rationality, said W. W. ROSTOW speculating on the imminence of a third world war, is unlikely to prevail in Moscow until we, the West, bring our military accounts into better balance and exhibit the wit and the will to cope with the economic agenda before us.

"Until then, we shall remain progressively greater peril. If and when we decide to ground our problems and act, there is a decent chance the current nightmare will take on a sense of moving towards doom and lift."

Professor Rostow, formerly President Johnson's special assistant for national security affairs, wrote the words five months before Ronald Reagan became president-elect.

"What feminism aims at is increase in justice and freedom. These things cannot be promoted by dragooning people into new and unwanted ways of life—by driving all the women out to work and all the children into crèches by universal sexuality, or planned parenting, by virtual compulsion to abort pregnancy, by destroying in standard boiler suits the pleasure of becoming sex objects. The idea that everybody, given a proper upbringing, would prefer these routes to the merest wish-fulfilment."

MARY MIDGLEY reviewing *The Sceptical Feminist: a philosophical inquiry*, by Janet Radcliffe Richards, in December.

REVIEW OF 1980

Free-for-all in uncomradely committee

Uncomradely backbiting offered some light relief to those following the proceedings of the select committee on the funding and organization of courses in higher education earlier this year.

At various times during the six months it took to gather evidence almost all the interest groups involved in the post—secondary sector managed to have a go at one another.

The select committee criticized the committee of the directors of polytechnics. The CDP criticized the local education authorities. The l.e.a.s criticized the polytechnics. The universities criticized the DES. The colleges criticized the polytechnics and Lord Robbins criticized almost everybody (except Scottish universities).

After the CDP called for a radical step to remove the polytechnics from the "parochial constraints which are a relic of distant practices and vested interests", the select committee commented "what appals us is the implication that the prospects for voluntary cooperation at local and regional level are so poor that we must create a Polytechnic Grants Committee or similiar body in order that 'Quango may speak sense unto Quango'".

Meanwhile, Mrs Nicki Hurrison, the opposition leader on the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, said: "There are certain directors of polytechnics who actually do believe they are vice-chancellors already" and the chairman of the Standing Conference of Directors and Principals of Colleges and Institutions of Higher Education, Mr Neil Merrit, offered: "It seems to me an act of absolute lunacy for the local authorities to continue to fund the CDP secretariat. It is rather like paying your own executioner."

Sir Alec Merrison, chairman of the committee of vice-chancellors and principals, said that he did not regard DES people "as the *fons et origo* of all wisdom". Of course, he added, "it would be marvellous if there were some great wisdom which suddenly emerged from the DES or somewhere else which caused the blinkers to fall from our eyes but I do not think it is that sort of situation or ever will be."

Lord Robbins, preferring the broad brush approach was more liberal in his selection of targets. Honours courses in many universities were designed "to produce dons to produce dons to produce dons." Recalling a visit to one particular local education authority he said that he had been "absolutely shocked" at its bullying attitude. "I felt that the sooner we take this thing out of the hands of this sort of person the better."

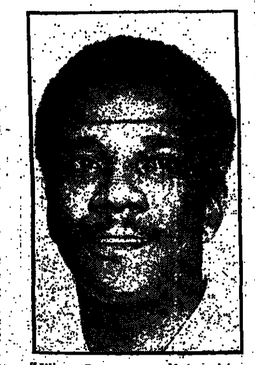
It was moreover a "public disgrace" that young people should be asked to choose whether they wanted to be humanists or scientists so early. Specialization, he said, was "almost an educational sin against the Holy Ghost." It was creating C. P. Snow's two nations.

"Writing is a way of turning negative aspects of experience into positive form". DAVID LODGE novelist, critic and scholar said in November. "Art is ultimately motivated by the wish for immortality." Life is very transitory.

"I think that writing is bound to be partly compulsive. Nobody would do it just for pleasure. Particularly not just writing novels—such enormous amounts of time, energy and everything else.

"Exposing the device: being ironical at your own expense is the main resource for modern writing in a time of such plurality and diversity. Don't attempt to dominate the reader, invite him into a collaborative game."

Freedom and the brain drain



"When I was myself agonizing whether to remain in Uganda in the wake of the murder of the vice-chancellor I called a departmental meeting (I was at the time head of the department of political science).

"I was going on leave to the United States and needed advice as to whether I should return. I was told: "Come back . . . but shut up!" But which sense of shutting up?

"Should I stop issuing circulars if I was in disagreement with particular matters of policy in Uganda? Should I stop giving extramural lectures on hot topics of the day in different towns of the country? Should I stop writing articles or books about Uganda? Should I stop teaching about government and politics in Uganda?

"There were voices among my colleagues who wanted me to 'shut up' on all these fronts. They had a right to ask me to do so, for under Idi Amin there was such a thing as guilt by association. If the chairman of the department was in disfavour everybody else in the department was under suspicion.

"Could I 'shut up' in all those senses . . . and still be Ali Mazrui? I organized over this on my sabbatical at Stanford University in California. Could I not be on indefinite leave from Makerere until it ceased to be necessary for me to 'shut up'?

"In the end the realities of the *situation* could not be circumvented. I tendered my resignation from an institution which I loved so much. The absence of academic freedom in Uganda had contributed to the brain drain to the West."

Last year's controversial Reith Lecturer, **ALI MAZRUI**, discussing the reasons why he chose to leave the University of Makerere.

Monetarism's fatal weakness

"Monetarism is a form of retreat from the complexity of the modern world, a nostalgic harking back to an era when the Government was required only to provide a minimum of services—defence and law and order—and to balance its own books, leaving it to the dynamic of industrial capitalism, unfettered by trade unions or by full parliamentary democracy, to produce wealth, and distribute it (very unequally).

"For Government, life was so much easier, simpler then. Anyone who has worked in the Treasury or Cabinet Office must have had the occasional feeling that everything would be so much easier if only one did not have to forecast developments in the economy and make the necessary adjustments to fiscal or monetary instruments; or negotiate with trade unions to prevent or settle crippling strikes; or deal with the long-term decay of the older industrial regions; or endure the endless agonies of operating an incomes policy.

"The great appeal of monetarism is that it purports to provide a complete theoretical justification for such feelings, elevating them from agreeable daydreams to the epitome of wisdom and statesmanship. The fatal weakness of monetarism is that it makes sense only in the context of a Britain that has vanished if indeed it ever existed. It makes little sense in the Britain in which we actually live."

MICHAEL STEWART, reader in political economy at University College London and formerly an economist in the *Treasury, Cabinet* and Foreign Office, on monetarism.

"Economists even social scientists, no longer inhabit garrets or have to subsist on crusts. They inhabit gold enhanced ivory towers only to come down into the market place and take part in any affray that is going."

LORD BALOGH, economic adviser to Harold Wilson's first government, on the relationship between *academe and government*.

"The read Raymond Williams has travelled in his career runs not from Eton to Wigan Pier, but from a working class background in Pandy, on the Welsh borders, to Jesus College, Cambridge. This was his personal long revolution, and in the course of the interview it becomes apparent how closely his writings have been bound to his own experiences.

"In being forced to confront his own biography, and his own bibliography, Williams does not seek to be total, at Stanford University in California. Could I not be on indefinite leave from Makerere until it ceased to be necessary for me to 'shut up'?

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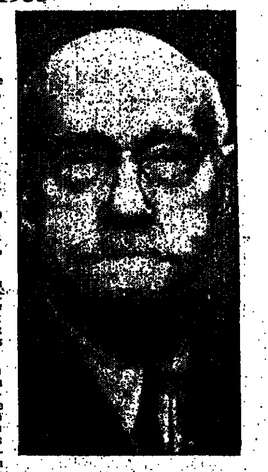
Labour relations in 1935



"I suppose that, members of the Labour Party were *too* stunned by the honour conferred on it a fortnight ago in the shape of the knighthood bestowed on its Chief Whip, to give immediate expression to the joyful emotions which, no doubt, they felt. Having now begun to sit up and take nourishment, I feel moved to break the awed silence with convalescent whispers. . . .

"For a good many years the *Labour Party has been in the habit* of stating in its programmes and on public platforms that it stands for social equality. Has it jettisoned that article in its creed as too embarrassing electoral luggage? Or does it suppose that it will convert the public to a belief in equality, if it does not, in its heart, believe in it itself? And does it expect to persuade them of the genuineness of its convictions, if prominent *members of the party sit up*, like poodles in a drawing room, wag their tails when patted, and lick their lips at the social sugar-plus tossed them by their masters?

"It has told the workers again and again that their strength is in solidarity, and that they must advance together, or not at all. Are they likely to believe it, if they see one of the honorary officers of the party reared to fight their battles accepting a knighthood from a government the very initiation of which has been repeatedly denounced by his colleagues as an odious piece of treachery to the workers' cause?

"It has declared that it is committed to an uncompromising struggle with the plutocracy and all its works. Then why prick in its hair the very feathers which the plutocracy, in its more imbecile moments, loves to wear in its own . . ."

"The truth is, that the whole business of political honours stinks—stinks of snobbery, of the money for which, unless rumour is wholly misleading, a good many of them are sold, of the servile respect for wealth and social position which remains even today the characteristic and contemptible vice of large numbers of our fellow countrymen . . ."

This excerpt, from a letter written by H. H. Tawney and published in 1935, was quoted by JOHN SAVILLE while commemorating the 100th anniversary of the socialist historian's birth.

A curious role, That of G. D. H.Cole
With a Bolshevik soul
In a Fabian muzzle
Mr G.D. H. Cole
Is a bit of a puzzle

BEN PIMLOTT, visiting research associate in the department of international history at the London School of Economics and Political Science, quoting Maurice Reckitt on the philosopher, economist, historian, poet, agitator, teacher, detective story writer and visionary.

"It is too early to abandon ourselves to that romantic concept of the United Nations as the God that failed." JOHN HOLMES, formerly Canadian assistant under-secretary of state for external affairs (United Nations and Commonwealth).

"I have never yet observed . . . that neo-Darkeans had to be restrained from physically assaulting one of our abstract economical individualists in our senior common room". ERNEST GELLNER on the LSE.

"No serious intellectual can afford to ignore or forget the great and polar contrast of Herbert Marcuse and Talcott Parsons". GORAN THERBORN, acting professor of sociology at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

". . . reading Professor Schnaiberg's book is like trudging through a marsh with oversize gumboots . . .". LORD ASHBY, chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast, and a fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, reviewing *The Environment: from surplus to scarcity* by Allan Schnaiberg.

"Perhaps there are some academics who still believe that the working class are genetically incapable of benefiting by more education". PROFESSOR E. G. EDWARDS of Bradford University discussing the effects of higher education cuts in January.

REVIEW OF 1980

Campaign to attract specialists fails to lighten the gloom

Further fears and threats of rationalization in the decimated teacher training sector sadly overshadowed 1980. These were not alleviated by the campaign to attract more teachers into shortage specialist subjects, nor by the long-awaited reconstitution of the Advisory Committee for the Supply and Education of Teachers.

One of the first indications that a further wave of rationalisation might be under way came from Mr Roy Walker, then of the DES teachers' training branch, at a conference in January.

Mr Walker warned that the department's current exercise in course appraisals could well result in a further closure of colleges. He added that the 1977 quota for an annual throughput of some 17,000 new teachers might have been over-optimistic in the light of a total teaching force of some 460,000 which falling rolls might forcibly reduce.

This gloomy warning was given further substance in the shape of a DES letter to all teacher training institutions in the summer asking for urgent action to correct a serious imbalance in the subjects they were providing.

The letter pointed out that on present forecasts the size of the teaching force required would fall below the planned target to some 400,000 and therefore planned output would necessarily have to be lower than 17,000.

It pointed out that enrolment data for 1979 showed that institutions were exceeding their planned numbers in three to four year courses in non shortage subjects, mainly physical education, and were well below in the shortage areas such as maths, physics and craft design and technology. If institutions did not want to risk outside control or the danger of producing teachers who would not obtain jobs, they should increase recruitment to the latter and control the size or abolish non viable physical education courses altogether.

There are signs that institutions have heeded the warning and latest recruitment figures indicate a definite rise in the numbers admitted to shortage subjects both for postgraduate certificate of education and Bachelor of Education courses in all institutions. However many institutions had to be wary that by carrying out this exercise they were not falling into another trap—not having sufficient numbers to make their institutions, departments or courses viable and thereby exposing themselves to closure.

Worries over rationalization can only have been intensified by the 38 per cent shortfall in recruitment to the BEd resulting in admissions to the degree course of only 5,668 students as opposed to the planned 9,100 admissions.

Although this was expected, because the new degree entrance requirements together with the demand for O levels in English and maths had already reduced applications from 15,869 in 1979 to 11,566, it nevertheless delivered a body blow to many institutions not alleviated by the prospect of a similar quota in 1981.

Nor did the rise in applications to the PGCE, matched by equally high recruitment to the courses, in excess of target figures by 1,000 to a total of 10,721 admissions, help those institutions with a predominant BEd intake.

Teacher education

On the contrary, it would seem to have emphasized the "threat" to the BEd which many see as a dying qualification on one to be changed both in name and content. This would give preference to the PGCE as the only teacher training qualification which might be extended from its current one-year study to two.

Furthermore it exposes institutions to the oft-quoted "withering on the vines" where no government intervention is necessary only the full play of market forces to close down non-viable courses.

Yet this might be a dangerous conclusion to reach since some recent surveys indicate that there are some inherent problems with the PGCE as well. For example, a study carried out by a group at Leicester University showed that 12 per cent of PGCE students on courses last year did not have maths O level and some 14 per cent did not have English O level.

The very fact that the first DES brief given to the new ACSET included proposals for the further reduction of teacher training places cannot have acted to restore confidence, nor can the fact that the paper raised the question of whether recruitment targets for BEd and PGCE courses continued to serve a useful purpose.

Yet it is to be hoped that ACSET, which is to meet again in February —and this time hopefully with representatives of the National Union of Teachers—and is also looking at the nature of the training system and further education training, will not as its predecessor be forced to become the DES "hatchet man".

The absence of an ACSET until later in the year plus the confirmation that it would deal mainly with the size and shape of the teaching force and the lack of a new national pattern of regional organization for teacher education all combined towards the creation of two new teacher education groups and the survival of another.

The main one is the national standing committee in teacher education in the public sector which is to be set up early next year and which will confine its activities to the quality of teacher education.

Another smaller set-up is the East Midlands regional consultative group in teacher education which is designed to fill the vacuum created by the demise of the region's steering committee and promote the exchange of information on teacher training between all interested parties in the area. In addition, the threat hanging over the London-based Teacher Education Advisory Committee, coordinating teacher education in London and the Home Counties, which was due to close in spring, 1981, has been lifted.

Perhaps the only area where definite achievements were recorded was in measures to deal with the shortage of teachers in specialist subjects. The DES launched a £50,000 campaign early in the year aimed at recruiting teachers to train or retrain in subjects such as maths, physics and craft design and technology.

The campaign was pursued almost relentlessly by ministers taking every opportunity to point out "horrifying" statistics on the shortages and mismatch particularly in secondary schools as well as emphasizing the increased opportunities of employment in this area for teachers.

The latest figures, they have not been adequately updated as yet. Those from local authorities as at January, 1980, showed a shortage of some 1,200 teachers in maths and physics and 400 in CDT. Added to this DES surveys showed that there were some 17,000 unqualified teachers teaching these subjects which would require some 4,000 maths and 2,000 physics and CDT people to replace. Moreover there were some 25,000 teachers qualified in maths and science but not teaching these subjects.

Ultimately the Government's campaign proved to be embarrassingly successful. Overwhelming response forced Dr Rhodes Boyson to seek further funds to enable an extra 60 students to go on to the crash training programme.

The other strand of action to deal with the shortages also reached a fairly happy conclusion. Talks between Lady Young and the Council of Local Education Authorities culminated in a five-point plan solution. The main proposal to emerge was a national scholarship scheme worth around £500 on top of normal grants—similar to National Engineering Scholarships—linked to a guarantee of a job which would be introduced in 1981. This was to be available to postgraduate and BEd degree students in maths, science and craft design and technology.

Part of the plan also involved looking at redeployment, differential salaries, better or direct recruitment by local education authorities, guarantees of post and secondment from industry. Ironically it is one aspect of our present economic situation leading to redundancies in areas such as British Steel which has already served to boost recruitment figures in the PGCE.

A small step in increasing the amount of in-service teacher training was also taken during this period. The Open University and local authorities came to an agreement over a network of in-service courses to be integrated in current provision.

Moreover a preliminary survey of In-Service BEd degrees showed that colleges had a growing role in this area which might serve to fill up places lost in initial teacher training recruitment.

Patricia Santinelli

Pressure groups wait for Macfarlane report

by Patricia Santinelli

Rising unemployment among school-leavers provided a stark background to the plethora of proposals and recommendations on the education and training of 16-19 year olds which once more dominated and ran its course throughout the year.

For the first time, however, there appeared to be a definite consensus among the organizations involved as to what was needed. These included the National Union of Teachers and Students, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, the Association of College Principals and that of Colleges of Further and Higher Education, the Further Education Unit and three youth organizations, one of which was Youthaid.

Almost all agreed that the Government should introduce a universal comprehensive provision of education and training for 16-19 including those young people going on to further and higher education, this provision to be administered by a single department of education and training, taking in matters currently under the departments of education, employment and industry, and the introduction of mandatory grants or "grantee" allowances for the age group.

These views were encapsulated at the start and at the year in a wide ranging document, prepared by the National Association of Head Teachers and the associations of principals of colleges of further education and sixth forms, supported by Certificate and Maths and currently being considered by the Government.

This document urged compulsory education and training for work of all those not going on to optimal courses of study, the abolition of separate and training which would also include the 'A' examination system, and bring to a speedy end the present artificial middle/high school divide. The proposals, which called for the establishment of new institutions and a merger of tertiary colleges to form comprehensive sixth form colleges, were backed by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.

Also in the wake of the Government's Youth Opportunities Programme and its combining education and vocational preparation programme which was announced in November.

Compulsory training for work urged to help the young unemployed

This development was a source of satisfaction to many but particularly to Youthaid, which repeatedly called for changes in the programme throughout the year. In the summer it revealed the conclusions of a two-year survey of YOP which warned that if the programme was to survive it would have to become a one-year vocational preparation and continuing education scheme for every 16-year-old.

The manpower Services Commission is embarked on just such a course. YOP has been doubled in size to take in 440,000 youngsters at a cost of £371m. This is the second full year it has been in operation after repeated requests to the Government and in the face of threats to cut the programme.

YOP now aims quite seriously at vocational preparation and this is not to be limited to low ability youngsters but to more unusual successes as far as the MSC is concerned. Its O and A level groups for those in work, unemployed and staying on in full-time education.

To a great extent these proposals are, or should be, the very matters that the Macfarlane committee ought to be reporting on. This is the committee looking into the education and training of 16-19 set up under the chairmanship of Neil Macfarlane, minister at the Department of Education and Science.

But some strange accident of fate seems to have reduced the committee—at one stage taking in responses to the previous government's consultative document on *Better Start to Working Life*, which recommended a £50m training scheme for 300,000 youngsters—to issuing mere recommendations on what type of institution should provide for the education of 16-19. This narrow argument as to whether school sixth forms, preferred by Lady Young and Dr Rhodes Boyson, or sixth form colleges and tertiary colleges, favoured by Mr Mark Carlisle were buss, was still unresolved at the end of the year.

So how near are we to achieving what these bodies called for? A Department of Education and Training is a fairly remote prospect, mainly, one suspects, because it would have to bypass enormous opposition from the DES, which has most to lose through its establishment.

16-19

It is unlikely the DES would stand for anything less than its own creation such as the national council to oversee national policy on non-advanced further education described earlier this year as a distinct possibility by former DES adviser Alec Thompson. This would have included clear categories among which unemployed teenagers figured.

Much greater realization of the recommendations for a universal system of education and training although perhaps not in the strict sense of the word, has taken the form of the Youth Opportunities Programme and its successor the Youth Training Scheme announced in November.

Government after repeated requests from interested sectors to know whether the telephone proposals were to be more than a pilot experiment.

Its suggested replacement by a 17 plus one year pre-employment course has already raised some doubts as to whether the Government is wilfully misunderstanding the Mansell-recommendations which were for a course and not an exam.

The other Government proposals which are for the introduction of an intermediate level examination worth roughly half an A level, have aroused a somewhat mute response —although they are likely to be accepted by universities—except in the Schools Council which appears to have been thrown in a state of schizophrenia.

On one hand the council seems to be convinced that the proposals are too narrow and instead of broadening the curriculum more or less reinforce the A level status quo, whilst on the other it is urging everyone else to support the establishment of 17 levels.

REVIEW OF 1980

Death of Flowers and Finniston

by Robin McKie
Science Correspondent

For those who sought to bring major changes to the entrenched values and systems of British higher education, 1980 was a bad year. The two principal attempts to introduce significant innovations — the Flowers and Finniston reports —now appear to have been well and truly torpedoed by concerted political opposition.

In the case of the inquiry staged by Sir Monty Finniston and his committee, which was published in January, the implications are likely to be serious and far reaching. Certainly the decision by Secretary of State for Industry, Sir Keith Joseph, to set up only a chartered body, responsible to the Privy Council, instead of the recommended statutory engineering authority produced a general round of disapproval whose echoes still resound.

Subsequently many of the engineering institutions which had lobbied so effectively against the proposed authority which they saw as a direct challenge to their own power were thrown into turmoil as a result. In particular, the Institution of Electrical Engineers, which in fact had at first vigorously campaigned in support of Finniston, faces internal rows and a special general meeting over its sudden U-turn and acceptance of the compromise plan put forward by Sir Keith.

Now the engineering profession appears in a state of disarray instead of being in a position to prepare itself to take a new role in the industrial regeneration of Britain.

And if the detailed and considered work of Sir Monty and his committee found itself blocked by astute political interference, then the similar fate which afflicted the Flowers working group on medical education reform at London University should have come as no surprise to anyone.

Science

By necessity it was a far speedier and less specific affair but in the long run was blocked just as effectively. Whereas Finniston was stopped by institutional and perhaps industrial opposition, the Flowers report was opposed by academics afraid about the stringent nature of its plans.

First, a string of alternative plans were put forward by the university's various advisory bodies and eventually the senate decided in July to delay a decision which it had previously pledged to give then on the Flowers' package that was to have saved about £3m in reduced administration costs although the specific costing was never properly outlined.

When the senate did meet in October to discuss Flowers it rejected an already amended version of the report and called for the university's joint medical advisory committee and joint planning committee to prepare new plans, leaving it increasingly unlikely that major features put forward in the original report would be retained in any recognizable form.

If the fate of these two documents, put forward by Flowers and Finniston in a spirit of reforming zeal, merely reinforce the cynical view that the British establishment is as fixedly conservative as ever, it may not be a point lost on one group considering major changes to Britain's higher educational system.

This is the inquiry committee, led by Sir Alec Merrison, chairman of the Advisory Board for the Research Councils and of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, which is investigating the dual-support system for supporting research at universities.

This committee is reviewing the financial problems now afflicting research support machines mechanisms and is expected to report in March. When it does so it is not anticipated that it will make calls for major changes, however.

It is the view of the seven-man committee that the present method, in which "well-founded" laboratories are run by universities and receive cash top-ups for projects from the country's five research councils, is essentially a good one and requires only small, but nevertheless significant, improvements. If it maintains these modest aspirations it may even have a chance of bringing about change.

As for the rest of the research scene, the Medical Research Council fared well in regaining control of £12m share of its cash previously controlled by the Department of Health and Social Security. The Science Research Council, however, suffered some financial pressures through mistakes in overspending but received a timely £5,600,000 cash boost from the Treasury thanks to the strength of the pound which saved it from making severe and embarrassing programme cutbacks next year.

Protestors at the threatened closure of medical schools

Paradox creates future confusion

by Charlotte Barry

Adult education has sustained more damage from the cuts in education spending over the past year than any other local or national service.

The Government's White Paper assumed that spending on education as a whole would fall by about 9 per cent between 1980 and 1983. The same paper said that spending on adult education should be reduced by one third (about £15m a year) below the 1978 level.

Paradoxically politicians from all sides have continued to emphasize the importance of adult and continuing education in a time of rapid economic, social and technological change.

Dr Rhodes Boyson, education minister responsible for higher education actually warned on more than one occasion against "the danger of cutting so near the bone that we cannot get the situation going again when we put more flesh on".

So it is hardly surprising that the whole field of adult and continuing education is totally demoralised and confused about its future as a publicly-financed service in the 1980s.

The decade began inauspiciously for local authority adult education as the swingeing cuts imposed in autumn 1979 began to bite. More than one in five authorities curtailed its provision severely or, as in the case of Humberside, West Glamorgan and Nottinghamshire, almost extinguished it.

Many more increased the growing disparity between authorities by making their service self-financing. A marked decline in enrolments followed heavy fee increases in such areas as Bedford, Cambridgeshire, East Sussex, Somerset, West Cheshire. About one in 10 adult literacy schemes was hit by severe budget cuts.

By January last year more than half the 104 l.e.a.s were refusing to honour free trade agreements which enable adult students to cross boundaries and study where at no extra cost. By October funds London institutes of adult education were suffering a drastic drop in enrolments following a mass withdrawal of neighbouring boroughs and counties from the "recoupment" scheme, in the Manchester area it broke down completely.

Another badly hit sector was the short term residential colleges. Six out of the original 30 were forced to close and more told to stay open on a self-financing basis. Ruskin College (formerly Battle of Britain House), was saved by its principal and will reopen as a private, non-profit-making enterprise.

However the effect of the cuts goaded normally mild-mannered adult education workers into action. Angered by the vague terms of the 1944 Education Act, and the structural weakness of the service which makes it a politically soft option, they banded together to form the Save Adult Education Campaign. An all-party group of MPs and peers was set up to put the case for adult education in both Houses of Parliament.

Two major adult education bodies were given a new lease of life by the Government in 1980. The Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education was continued for a second and probably last term. It published one report, *Present Imperfect*, which was widely criticised for being too low-key. The consolidated efforts made in the first term are expected to emerge in a variety of reports to be published early this year.

Also given three more years was the Adult Literacy Unit, rechristened the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit, it was given a budget of £500,000 in its first year.

The largest single provider of education for adults, the Open University, managed to survive a massive cut in its budget for 1979 but was faced by new problems in 1980. OU programmes on Radio 3 were axed from normal broadcasting hours and the university began a fight to save early evening transmission times on BBC2. A major row with the BBC was averted after the Corporation agreed after all to broadcast a banned OU lecture on the nuclear arms race by Professor Mike Pentz, the university's dean of science.

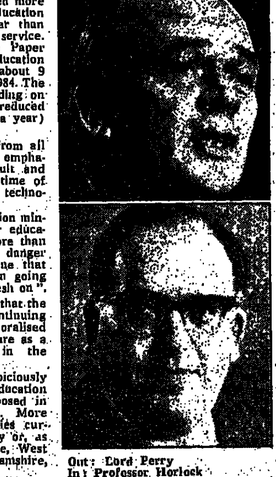
In November it was forced to give way to a Government-imposed 46 per cent rise in student fees way above the rate of inflation.

During the year the OU's pioneer vice-chancellor, Lord Perry, of Walton, retired. He was succeeded by Professor John Horlock, vice-chancellor of Salford University. The university's first secretary, Mr Chris Christodolou, also left to become secretary general of the Association of Commonwealth Universities. After the senate objected to the choice of Salford University's registrar as his successor, the post was readvertised.

The success of the OU in expanding the use of "distance learning" techniques spurred the Employment Secretary, Mr Jim Prior, to consider setting up its Open Tech to provide technical training and retraining. The Manpower Services Commission is expected to produce concrete proposals for the scheme shortly.

The other Government initiative in an otherwise stringent and constrained atmosphere was a Department of Education and Science discussion paper aimed at encouraging more mid-career refresher courses in universities and polytechnics. However it emphasized that any extra costs should be met by the employers.

In spite of all the doom and gloom caused by the cuts the adult education sector continued to be lively and experimental. The National Extension College produced some highly imaginative correspondence courses, more new opportunities for women classes were created and more use was made of local radio. Volunteer educational advisory services kept going on a shoestring and the voluntary centres and literacy schemes continued to initiate new schemes and alternative methods of learning.



Out: Lord Perry
In: Professor Horlock

Adult education

Social scientists under pressure to make radical changes

The beginning of 1980 marked the end of any significant growth in the social sciences for some time.

It also proved to be a watershed for the Social Science Research Council, the main funding body, as it adjusted to the first substantial cut in its budget. At the same as funding off criticism of its low PhD completion rates the council had to make an all-out effort to retain the confidence and cooperation of the academic community.

The area hardest hit by the 15 per cent cut in the SSRC's £17m budget has been postgraduate training, which suffered a sudden 25 per cent reduction. Management and planning were promoted at the expense of traditional social science subjects like sociology, anthropology and politics, which suffered cuts of as much as 40 per cent.

As the council was recovering from the shock waves caused by the disproportionate cuts it came in for severe outside criticism of its deplorable PhD completion rates. An internal survey showed that only 40 per cent of its PhD students registered in 1973 had completed their degrees six years later. Completion rates for coursework students registered in 1976 were 85 per cent.

Social Science

These factors, combined with internal doubts about the viability of the traditional method of allocating quotas of studentships to individual university departments, put pressure on the council to make radical changes in its postgraduate training policy.

It agreed to give more support to "linked awards" attached to existing research projects, and planned to introduce a new type of "collaborative awards in the social sciences" involving cooperation with industry and the public services. It said that the quota method would continue but more students would be able to go to the department of their choice. It also told universities that they should include more teaching in the three year PhD programme and that completion rates and quality of supervision would be more closely scrutinised.

This new policy was part of a strategy to reduce the council's commitment to postgraduate training and increase the proportion of funds allocated to major research ventures.

In collaboration with the Science Research Council and the Leverhulme Trust the SSRC announced plans to establish a major new institute to analyse the social and economic impact of technical change. The Technical Change Centre will have an annual budget of £750,000 for at least five years. The identity of the director and the site have yet to be announced, but the centre is likely to be based in either Manchester, Oxford or London.

Other major research initiatives made during the year included the singling out of five "centres of excellence". These designated research centres will each receive between £50,000 and £100,000 a year over the next eight years.

They include the Thomas Coram research unit at London University's Institute of Education; the centre for urban and regional development studies at Newcastle University; a new centre of productivity and efficiency at the Independent National Institute for Economic and Social Research.

The others are a new centre for labour economics at the London School of Economics; a centre for survey methods administered jointly by City University and another independent unit, Social and Community Planning Research. Plans for a sixth centre were abandoned, but the SSRC may designate another round next year.

However the boost given to research projects initiated by the council meant that the new combined research board was forced to turn down more than 10 per cent of highly recommended research applications put up for funding by academics.

Outside the orbit of the SSRC a new right-wing Social Affairs Unit was set up and based at the existing institute of Economic Affairs. Headed by Dr Digby Anderson, it intended to challenge research allegedly dominated by state interventionist policy.

The Social Research Association published a critical report accusing Government departments of exerting unwarrantable control over commissioned research projects.

The decision to close the Centre for Environmental Studies proved a tragic end to 18 months of rumour and uncertainty. The renowned Institute for Development Studies at Sussex University managed to avert a total withdrawal of its £1.3m grant from the Overseas Development Administration, but its funds will be cut by a third over the next five years.

Charlotte Barry

REVIEW OF 1980

Practical politics won the day

by David Jobbins

Union leaders can look back over 1980 with some degree of satisfaction. Their members' pay had been given perhaps its most rapid boost over and in the public sector the "phoney war" over job losses due to Government cuts had passed without a casualty.

Ostensibly free from Government pay restraint, it turned out to be a year in which pay negotiations were inescapably dominated by incomes policies.

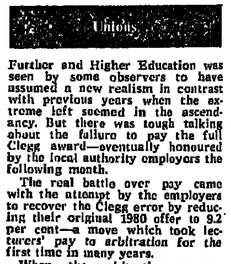
"Waiting for Clegg" was the watchword for much of the first months. But this much vilified vestige of the previous Labour government's effort to escape from the debacle of their 5 per cent policy did more than anything to make up the leeway lost over the years of statutory control.

In January, the failure of the commission's much-vaunted factorial analysis approach to comparability studies meant that Professor Clegg was unable to produce his interim report.

This was to be the basis for agreeing the first stage of the Clegg payment—and its failure to appear led to a negotiated 7.5 per cent interim award. Before long it became clear that the second stage of the Clegg study was in trouble, with serious disagreements between management and union representatives over methods being used.

Eventual publication of the report recommending 17 to 25 per cent increases in April led to inevitable speculation that Ministers might seek to overturn it, exacerbated when a 4 per cent error in some of the findings was detected and acknowledged by Professor Clegg in a letter to the Prime Minister.

The May conference of the National Association of Teachers in



Unions

Further and Higher Education was seen by some observers to have assumed a new realism in contrast with previous years when the extreme left seemed in the ascendancy. But there was tough talking about the failure to pay the full Clegg award—eventually honoured by the local authority employers the following month.

The real battle over pay came with the attempt by the employers to recover the Clegg error by reducing their original 1980 offer to 9.2 per cent—a move which took lecturers' pay to arbitration for the first time in many years.

When the arbitration process awarded 14.6 per cent there was firm evidence that senior Treasury ministers—and Mrs Thatcher herself—were far from happy that lecturers seemed to be getting away with the Clegg "overpayment". But the logic of practical politics won the day and the award was paid in full.

University lecturers, too, were waiting for Clegg. Their October, 1979, settlement involved a reference to the commission, but when it was suggested that their study should take 18 months or more they angrily withdrew their reference and agreed a "secret" 19.6 per cent "pseudo-Clegg" deal with the university employers.

After weeks of waiting for a response from the Government and a sustained Parliamentary campaign, the university lecturers were successful in increasing the initial counter-offer of less than 14 per cent to 17 per cent in the face of Cabinet opposition.

The AUT immediately lodged a "cost of living" claim to run from October but reflecting the move in inflation since 1979. Following deadlock in talks with the university *employers, the independent chair*man forwarded a 13 per cent award to the Department of Education. Negotiations were continuing against the backdrop of the 6 per cent which the University Grants Committee is allowing for pay rises.

On the jobs front, there is continuing doubt over what should have been a major milestone in public sector pay bargaining. The national joint council on conditions of service, which both unions and employers want to see assume the role of a non-statutory Burnham further education committee, has been plagued by a row over the status of the redundancy procedures agreement.

The threat of redundancies was raised at the NJC's first meeting in February. That month there were fears of mass redundancies at North East London Polytechnic and a token strike at Trafford.

The first formal notification of redundancies in the polytechnic sector came at NELP in April, but continuing union and other pressure meant that by the end of the year voluntary methods were under discussion and the immediate threat of up to 62 compulsory redundancies lifted.

Another group of lecturers who spent 1980 waiting were the members of the Association of Polytechnic Teachers, eagerly anticipating a Ministerial decision on recognition and a seat on the Burnham further education committee.

A major weapon in their armoury was handed to them by the abortive Leeds post entry closed shop agreement, eventually ditched following heavy pressure from the Nurfhe leadership.

Out : Carter, In : Reagan.

Celebrations premature after Reagan's landslide victory

from Clive Cookson
North American editor

North America

When 1980 began American colleges and universities were celebrating the passage by the House of Representatives of a Bill authorising a generous expansion of federal higher education programmes for the next five years. During 1980 the Senate trimmed it back a bit and raised interest rates on student loans, but spokesmen for the academic community could still hail the Higher Education Act, which President Carter signed in October, as "superb legislation".

Then came November 4. Not only was Ronald Reagan elected President by a landslide, but many liberal members of Congress—longtime supporters of increased government aid to higher education—lost their seats to conservatives who had campaigned for big cuts in all federal expenditure outside the Defense Department.

Suddenly, the celebrations over the Higher Education Act looked very premature. For the Reagan administration seems most unlikely to request, and Congress equally unlikely to approve, funding for the new programmes on anything like the scale their sponsors had intended.

The size of the Republican victory raised fears in some academic leaders that the national consensus, which has dominated the development of American higher education since the late 1950s, might now be rejected. But the organizations that lobby for colleges and universities in Washington moved quickly to build bridges to the Reagan camp and the new Republican majority in the Senate, at the same time sending reassuring messages to their constituencies.

For example, Jack Peltason, who is president of the largest group, the American Council on Education (ACE), said "college and university leaders would be ill-advised to adopt any conventional wisdom of negativism toward president-elect Reagan". Later, after a session with Mr Reagan's transition team for the Department of Education, Mr Peltason commented: "It was an excellent first meeting and augurs well for future relations between the new administration and the higher education community."

Almost everyone in higher education looked forward to one beneficial by-product of the Reagan Administration's less partisan attitude: interference from Washington. The four years of the Carter Administration generated a rising volume of complaints about the Government's increasingly burdensome regulations, record-keeping and reporting requirements, and the President's attempt to cut back federal paperwork and red tape seemed at best to slow the rate of increase, not to bring real relief.

However, Mr Reagan and his colleagues are likely to be more successful for their statements indicate a real desire to reduce the scope of the Federal Government. Mr Carter's association on the other hand did not want the Government to do less, just to operate more efficiently—which is far more difficult to achieve.

North of the border, there was also a change of administration in 1980. After only nine months in power in Ottawa, the minority Conservative Government lost February's general election to the Liberal Party.

That was less important for Canadian colleges and universities than the American election was for higher education in the United States, partly because the weaker Canadian federation gives less authority to the central government, and partly because the ideological differences between the Canadian Liberal and Conservative parties are now less than those separating mainstream Republicans from Democrats.

Nevertheless, many members of the academic community were sorry to see conservative Prime Minister Joe Clark return to opposition. They felt that in the area where the federal government has the most direct impact on universities—the funding of research—the Conservatives had more effective policies than the liberals.

The Conservatives had proposed large budget increases for the granting councils in 1980-81—37 per cent more for the Natural Science and Engineering Research Council—and the Liberals honoured them after a change of government. But by the end of the year Canada's scientific associations were protesting vociferously against the failure of Mr Trudeau's government to announce any new initiatives of its own to stimulate research.

Colleges and universities across the United States and Canada found their classrooms overflowing with students for the 1980-81 academic year. Although numbers of 18-22 year olds in North America have reached their peak and are now beginning a long decline, the participation rate picked up enough last year to boost total enrolments by 3 or 4 per cent overall.

The unexpectedly good news about this year's admissions coincided with an increasingly optimistic view of the long-term employment prospects. Two or three years ago, the demographic reality had seemed terrible. Later, after a session with Mr Reagan's transition team for the Department of Education, Mr Peltason commented: "It was an excellent first meeting and augurs well for future relations between the new administration and the higher education community."

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Yet the college system has been viewed in apparent isolation, without reference to how teacher education fits into the future of higher education. The recent Scottish Education Bill has also set the wheels in motion for a single negotiating body for the tertiary sector. There will soon be precious little for the tertiary council to report back about which has not already been tackled piece-meal by the Government.

Predictably, there has been no consultation over the negotiating body, *which was first proposed by* the Houghton committee in 1974. The unions concerned were consulted in desultory way by the previous government, and have reiterated during the year that more consultation is necessary.

The problems of the tertiary sector found their extreme example in Glasgow College of Technology, which found itself in the limelight when disaffected staff lobbied the media as well as the Council for National Academic Awards, alleging it was run in an authoritarian and undemocratic way. The college is under the control of its local education authority, but with ultimate control for academic policy and planning vested in its director. The college is now being investigated by both the region and its own council.

Glasgow College, and its neighbour in Edinburgh, Napier, are virtually identical to English polytechnics, apart from their constitutions. But Napier's bid in November to call itself a polytechnic failed. Scottish regional councillors apparently wishing no truck with appellations from a foreign education system.

Nationalistic paranoia was also aroused in April when the Clegg commission produced a six-line paragraph telling the Scots to carry out their own comparability study. Fortunately, once the shock had worn off, the Scots were able to bring out in a fortnight what Professor Clegg had failed to do in eight months.

And continuing the year's trend of gloom and despondency, 1980, like 1979 and 1978, has brought no joy to two of Edinburgh University's staff. Two and a half years ago their retired three sexually explicit plays from Ancient Greek texts, and educational purposes, which are still in the hands of HM Customs who maintain they are pornographic.

Both members of staff are at present out of the country. On returning, customs officials would be well advised to collect their passports very, very carefully.

Scotland suffers from lack of policy

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

This has not been a happy year for Scottish education. The tone was set early when the BBC announced that while educational broadcasting would be cut back by 10 per cent nationwide, Scottish educational broadcasting was to suffer an immediate cut of 25 per cent—with the remaining 75 per cent to be axed the following year.

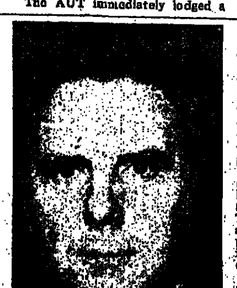
The 25 per cent cut went ahead, although frantic and heated arguments ensured that the second threat would not be carried out. *Similar moves do not seem to be* having any success in saving Scotland's three threatened education colleges.

What most infuriated opponents of the BBC move was that no consultation had been held with any interested bodies. This was directly paralleled in the case of the colleges, the topic which has led to the most fraved nerves and the most impassioned pleas in the Scottish academic world this year.

In February, Scottish education minister Alex Fletcher told those were no plans to close colleges, but if a need for "restructuring" emerged, there would be a consultative document. It gradually became clear that restructuring was very much in the government's mind and a consultation document was promised for Easter if did not appear.

It was promised for late spring, for mid-summer, for early June, for early July. In Silver Jubilee instant replay it was finally issued days before the parliamentary session ended, with the news that Callendar Park and Hamilton colleges of FE were to merge with Jordanhill College of Education, and Dundee College of Education was to merge with Dundee College of Technology.

The association of lecturers in colleges of education have been fighting for the end locations they chose, and the Jordanhill merger is already causing severe difficulties. Mr Fletcher has refused to rule out compulsory redundancies.



Mr Fletcher : "no closure plans".

Scotland

"restructuring" by discussing "rationalisation" and "realignments" while remaining opposed to compulsory redundancy. The offer was not taken up.

The Scottish Office has scarcely emerged covered in glory from this debacle of its own construction. It is symptomatic of its complete lack of coherent long-term policy for Scotland's tertiary sector.

Alex Fletcher's keynote address throughout the year has been that he is minister for both education and industry, which must be closely linked. Yet he proposed the closure of Hamilton College, which specialises in training science and technical teachers, and is the first education college to work jointly with a college of technology.

Scotland's tertiary sector suffers from its transitory nature, with different institutions run by local authorities, the Scottish Education Department or from England, leading to defensive parochialism. The Government is certainly trying to keep the branches, not just the stems, but its policy is not clear.

Yet the college system has been viewed in apparent isolation, without reference to how teacher education fits into the future of higher education. The recent Scottish Education Bill has also set the wheels in motion for a single negotiating body for the tertiary sector. There will soon be precious little for the tertiary council to report back about which has not already been tackled piece-meal by the Government.

Predictably, there has been no consultation over the negotiating body, *which was first proposed by* the Houghton committee in 1974. The unions concerned were consulted in desultory way by the previous government, and have reiterated during the year that more consultation is necessary.

The problems of the tertiary sector found their extreme example in Glasgow College of Technology, which found itself in the limelight when disaffected staff lobbied the media as well as the Council for National Academic Awards, alleging it was run in an authoritarian and undemocratic way. The college is under the control of its local education authority, but with ultimate control for academic policy and planning vested in its director. The college is now being investigated by both the region and its own council.

Glasgow College, and its neighbour in Edinburgh, Napier, are virtually identical to English polytechnics, apart from their constitutions. But Napier's bid in November to call itself a polytechnic failed. Scottish regional councillors apparently wishing no truck with appellations from a foreign education system.

Nationalistic paranoia was also aroused in April when the Clegg commission produced a six-line paragraph telling the Scots to carry out their own comparability study. Fortunately, once the shock had worn off, the Scots were able to bring out in a fortnight what Professor Clegg had failed to do in eight months.

And continuing the year's trend of gloom and despondency, 1980, like 1979 and 1978, has brought no joy to two of Edinburgh University's staff. Two and a half years ago their retired three sexually explicit plays from Ancient Greek texts, for educational purposes, which are still in the hands of HM Customs who maintain they are pornographic.

Both members of staff are at present out of the country. On returning, customs officials would be well advised to collect their passports very, very carefully.

BOOKS

A change of climate

Causes of Climate
by John G. Lockwood
Edward Arnold, £12.95 and £5.95
ISBN 0 7131 6139 6 and 6140 X

Applied Climatology
by J. E. Hobbs
Dawson, £10.00
ISBN 0 7129 0832 3

Biometeorology : the impact of the weather and climate on humans and their environment
by S. W. Tromp
Heyden, £8.50
ISBN 0 85501 453 9

Climate is a popular scientific preoccupation at present. Some 10 years ago the importance of climate to man, his activities, and, most of all, to his economies, first became evident to atmospheric scientists. As the climatological lobby was both smaller and less institutionalised than the meteorological lobby, climatology was deemed then to be a sub-discipline of meteorology, although on equally strong case could now be made for a reversal of these roles.

All three of these new books have been influenced more or less obviously by the now generally accepted chain of command between climatology and meteorology. The first two volumes exemplify such influences indirectly, through frequent reference to—indeed, in the case of Lockwood's book, through fundamental preoccupation with—the reasons why climates exist and act as they do. The third volume reveals such influences more directly through its title: in 1970 Unesco and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) "decided to change the name 'bioclimatology' to 'biometeorology' because 'climatology' is part of the modern concept of 'meteorology'...". However, this scientific take-over is apparently not yet complete, for Tromp continues, by way of elucidation of the title matter, that: "Despite this international decision, the old name of bioclimatology is still being used, particularly in Latin countries."

Hence, the intended relations among this literary trio are closer than an initial glance might suggest. Between them they provide a broad and very useful view of modern climatology, concerned as they are with three complementary aspects of a science with practical implications for everyone on this planet, albeit treating them with widely differing degrees of detail.

The most comprehensive volume is the one by Hobbs. Intended primarily for the undergraduate student, this light, general review provides easy, interesting reading for the newcomer to applied climatology. Nicely written and fairly illustrated by maps and line drawings (the complete absence of halftones coming as something of a surprise), it moves smoothly over a wide range of interrelated themes.

There are, however, certain noteworthy flaw-spots or omissions, including problems of water supply, the advantages and disadvantages of ice and snow (for example, in irrigation and communications respectively), the influences of the atmosphere on maritime pursuits (for example, fishing and commerce), and the implications of weather and climate for the insurance industry. But in a treatment of this length some such deficiencies are almost inevitable.

Perhaps the sins of omission are less significant here than those of commission: is this really a book about climate or about weather? It opens logically enough with a brief introduction to "pure" climatology under the title of "The Atmospheric System". Thereafter the current dominance of meteorological thinking, even in discussions of applied climatology, is all too apparent in the subsequent chapter headings, in which the term "weather" appears in four out of eight and "climate" in only one. More specifically, weather forecasting is accorded 16 pages of text whereas long-range (climate) forecasting is dismissed in two. Thus the title and the contents barely match, and the terminological plot thickens! Now if "climatology is part of the modern concept of meteorology", should not this book claim to be about applied meteorology?

But my reader may be thinking: "Why should one be so concerned with such semantics?" For two reasons. First, I am sufficiently old-fashioned to believe that terminological inexactitudes are best avoided whenever possible—and that the author/teacher/mentor has a *responsibility in such respects not* only to his students, but, more fundamentally to his field of science. Second, I am glad that today's preoccupation with the influence of climate upon man is resulting in greatly increased support for climate research in national and international scientific circles; but, regrettably, much of this hard-earned support is being syphoned off for studies of so-called "climate parameters"—many of which are merely "weather elements" under a different guise. Assuredly, if the climatologist does not properly define and *identify his own area* of inquiry, he cannot complain when it is then misrepresented by others.

Perhaps the most balanced and most clearly defined of these three books is that by Lockwood. Here, at least, title and contents really match. Concerned with the "causes of climate", Lockwood focuses clearly on longer timescales ranging from a few days through centuries and millennia to the glacials and interglacials of the Pleistocene period, and on into neons of the geological past.

The book opens with an introduction to the climatic system, emphasizing land and ocean influences as well as the solar and atmospheric. It continues by way of radiation theory through complex interaction models, into the realms of fairly standard global climatology, regionally described. The best material follows: first, a chapter on concepts of climatic evolution and climatic change, including some valuable syntheses of glacial and interglacial cause and effect relationships; second, a chapter on future climates, based on trends and models—fascinating stuff not surprisingly laced with "ifs" and "maybes"; and finally, a review of the impact man himself is exercising upon Earth's climates.

Throughout, the material here is both authoritative and attractively presented. Arguments and counter-arguments are marrialled in a lively, interesting way, and the whole adds up to a book which will appeal strongly to college and university students plus not a few other readers for whom climate is a significant set of phenomena.

Tromp's work on "biometeorology" is less well-illustrated, more heavily referenced and more narrowly specialized than the other two books. Indeed, his book is even more narrow than its short title suggests: the new official definition of biometeorology speaks of "plants, animals, and man"; and the much longer subtitle is needed to justify the dominant preoccupation of the book. This effectively reverses the pecking order from the Unesco/WMO definition: so, two thirds of this book is concerned with man, about one seventh with other animals, and only about one twelfth with plants, the remainder embracing introductory and concluding remarks.

This bias reflects the interests of the author, a distinguished international expert who is director of the Biometeorological Research Centre in Leiden, The Netherlands. The book is a sequel to earlier volumes with which Professor Tromp was involved, and, like them, adopts a strongly medical approach. As a consequence, some matters of considerable biometeorological significance are given very short shrift indeed. For example, the influence of weather on the water balance of plants is dismissed in under 100 words, and the micrometeorological environment of plants is accorded less than two pages of text, omitting citations to such classic works as that by J. Geiger in *The Climate Near the Ground*. The animal section, organized neatly by groups of animals, not by aspects of their atmospheric environment as in the plant section, seems more balanced and is much more helpful and informative. However, in both sections some of the comments and references are significantly out of date—for example, the reference to "regular locust invasion warnings" *from the Anti-Locust Research* Centre, London. This unit changed its name a decade ago, after relinquishing such operations to the United Nations.

However, in the area of principal interest of the author—human biometeorology—there is much of value, especially where physiology and pathology are involved. Attention is given to the atmospheric environment in relation to the response centres in the body which register meteorological stimuli; to resulting effects on body chemistry; to relations between weather, climate and disease; to the complicating effects of clothing, nutrition, air-conditioning and travelling; and to implications for architecture and planning. Here the author is more at home; and, for these sections alone the work can be well recommended as a very competent synthesis and review.

Semantics and their results apart, all three books are worth the relatively modest prices on their covers. Together, the three comprise a veritable bargain package, and will add significantly to any public or private library collection in climatology—especially if this can be loosely defined.

E. C. Barrett

E. C. Barrett is reader in climatology and remote sensing at the University of Bristol.

End of an era for elementary particle physics textbooks

Elementary Particle Physics : an introduction
by David C. Cheng and Gerard K. O'Neill
Addison-Wesley, £17.70
ISBN 0 201 05463 9

Relativistic Particle Physics
by Hartmut M. Pilkuhn
Springer, £19.50
ISBN 0 387 09348 6

The discovery of the metastable J/psi particle six years ago has become known as the November Revolution in elementary particle physics. There was already strong evidence from hadron spectroscopy and large momentum transfer reactions, analogous to Rutherford scattering, for a quark substructure of protons and other hadrons. However, the identification of the J/psi particle as a bound state of a new charmed quark and its anti-particle (called charmonium by analogy to positronium) was the piece of evidence which finally *convinced this high-energy physics com*munity of the reality of quarks.

At the same time the quark model had been made theoretically respectable by the introduction of a gauged gluon field theory of strong interactions, known as "quantum chromodynamics (QCD) and based on an exact "colour symmetry" or quark interactions. Since then the tide of elementary particle has been applied to differing kinds or "flavours" of quark (of which five have been established and a sixth is expected) rather than to the proton, neutron and other hadronic states.

The quarks seem to be attractive less (at least down to 10 to the power of minus 16 cm) spin-half particles with V-A charged weak currents just like leptons, which are the other fundamental fermions of nature. The weak and electromagnetic interactions of quarks and leptons seem to be explained in a unified way by the Glashow-Salam-Weinberg gauge theory model.

High-energy physics research, both experimental and theoretical, is now dominated by the study of quarks and leptons and their interactions. The need for introductory texts, at the undergraduate and at the postgraduate level, based unashamedly on quarks and leptons has therefore become increasingly clear during the past few years. It was with this need in mind that I read these two new textbooks on elementary particle physics. Both texts were completed in 1979 and are written at the postgraduate level. The reader is assumed to have the knowledge gained in a typical undergraduate nuclear particle physics course. In particular a familiarity with SU(2) Clebsch-Gordon coefficients in the context of angular momentum and isospin is expected. I was disappointed to find that neither of the books wholeheartedly adopted the quark-lepton viewpoint advocated above. A much more traditional, some would say old-fashioned, approach is *adopted, although some of the* important recent developments are covered.

Elementary Particle Physics is an introductory text which developed from a graduate course taught at Princeton University over the past 15 years. The style of the book is rooted in the late 1960s and the major part of the text could have been written then. Following a general introduction the subject is split into three parts according to interaction type: electromagnetic, weak and strong. Some useful exercises are given at the end of each part.

The first chapter traces the development of the subject up to 1976 and the 'discovery of charm. It is noteworthy that this introductory chapter contains more information on the new (post-1974) particles than the rest of the text, but even then the existence of a new heavy lepton merits only one sentence. The upsilon particle and the associated fifth quark fare worse and are relegated to an exercise!

The introduction continues with a discussion of relativistic kinematics and wave equations, which is followed by a brief intuitive discussion of Feynman diagrams. Feynman rules are tabulated and subsequently applied in the Born approximation. Higher order diagrams are drawn but loop integrations and renormalization are not mentioned. Crossing symmetry is explained and then illustrated by Moller and Bhabha scattering in the second part of the book, which is devoted to electromagnetic interactions. The electromagnetic properties of the electron and muon, including the classical anomalous magnetic moment results, are then discussed.

This is followed by a chapter on electromagnetic form factors and the vector meson dominance model. Scaling in deep inelastic electron proton scattering, and its interpretation in terms of the quark parton model are then natural topics. There also is a surprisingly short *section on the important subject* of electron-positron annihilation, the results from which are used to motivate colour as a new degree of freedom.

Weak interactions are then introduced following the historical development of the Fermi theory and its generalization to a V-A current-current interaction theory by Feynman and Gell-Mann. The hadronic charged weak current is discussed in the traditional way, in terms of virtual hadronic intermediate states and the conserved vector current theory as modified by Cabibbo. The whole presentation would have been much simpler in terms of a point-like quark current. However the quark model description is only presented briefly at the end of the discussion. The next topics are the neutral kaon system and the discovery of CP violation, for which Cronin and Fitch were awarded this year's Nobel Prize in physics. The standard six quark model interpretation of CP violation is not mentioned.

The last chapter on weak interactions covers high-energy neutrino reactions, neutral currents and a brief introduction to the Glashow-Salam-Weinberg gauge theory of weak and electromagnetic interactions. The inclusive data are analysed using the quark parton model, but the observed small scaling violations and their possible interpretation in terms of gluon bremsstrahlung are not mentioned. *The Weinberg angle is introduced* as the one undetermined parameter of the theory and its measurement in the 1976 SLAC polarized electron scattering experiment is cited. Unfortunately the predicted mass relationship between the intermediate vector bosons is given incorrectly.

The central part on strong interactions is the longest but most unsatisfactory portion of the book. Out of the hundred or so references in this part only four are from the 1970s. The discussion of the strong interaction begins with two chapters on *dispersion relations* and the strong interaction coupling constant. Nowadays the latter is usually taken to mean the QCD coupling constant but here refers to the pion-nucleon coupling constant.

There then follow several chapters on the classification of hadrons and a detailed discussion of the group theory of SU(3) and higher unitary symmetries. The emphasis on these broken SU(N) flavour symmetries seems misplaced in these times and the almost complete absence of QCD is regrettable. The concluding chapter deals with Regge pole phenomenology of the mid-1960s. Despite my reservations, this book is in parts the most up-to-date introductory text available and as such would be a useful addition to any high-energy physics library.

Relativistic Particle Physics, is based on material used in lectures at Karlsruhe and Oslo. The main subject matter of this book is firmly rooted in the 1960s and consists of the analysis of hadronic interactions using the traditional methods of flavour SU(3), analyticity and unitarity. In addition there are chapters on relativistic one particle equations, two particle problems and quantum electrodynamics. These contain useful information on the Lorentz transformation properties of spinors, phase space, kinematics and partial wave expansions. Analyticity and *unitarity are used to develop higher* order perturbation theory and the renormalization of quantum electrodynamics. From the outer QCD is dismissed as being still in the speculative stage and is thereafter barely mentioned. The new particles and charm are introduced at the end of a long chapter on hadronic resonances.

There follows a chapter on weak interactions, which concludes with sections on deep inelastic lepton hadron scattering, neutral currents and the Glashow-Salam-Weinberg model. Charm decays and the six *quark model are discussed here.* Altogether the new physics forms a very minor part of the book. It is definitely not suitable for an introductory course of graduate lectures. The level of treatment is quite difficult and the material is presented in a condensed fashion. Some care seems to have been taken to use consistent conventions throughout the text, which may therefore be a useful source of standard results from old-fashioned hadronic physics.

In conclusion these two books mark the end of an era for elementary particle physics textbooks. Future books will surely reflect more clearly the advances made during the past decade.

C. D. Froggatt

C. D. Froggatt is lecturer in the department of natural philosophy at the University of Glasgow.

NOTICE BOARD

Noticeboard is compiled by Patricia Santinelli and Mila Goldie

Fellowships

The following have been awarded honorary fellowships by the Institution of Mechanical Engineers: Sir Michael Edwardes, chairman and chief executive of BL Ltd, and Sir Denis Rooke, chairman of the British Gas Corporation.

Awards

Professor Leonard Broadbent, head of the school of biological sciences at the University of Bath, has been awarded the Victoria Medal of Honour by the Royal Horticultural Society. The award was established to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee and it is the highest honour that can be given to a British horticulturist.

Honorary degrees

University of Wales

The following will be awarded honorary degrees in July at a special ceremony to be held at the Welsh National School of Medicine:

DSc: Professor Andrew P. McEwen Forrest, Regius professor of surgery, University of Edinburgh; emeritus Professor Eric Samuel, former professor of diagnostic radiology at the University of Edinburgh; Professor Arthur I. Darling, director of dental studies at the University of Bristol.

LLD: Dr Byron Evans, former consultant in medicine (cardiology), University Hospital of Wales; Professor William Linford Llewelyn Rees, professor of psychiatry at St Bartholomew's Hospital; Emeritus professor Arthur Garonwy Watkins, emeritus professor of child health at the University of Wales.

MA: Mr Emrys K. Downing, former deputy registrar, Welsh National School of Medicine.

Aston

Professor Alex Skempton, an international authority on soil mechanics and engineering geology, who is professor and head of department of civil engineering at Imperial College, has been awarded an honorary degree by the university.

Appointments

Universities

Aston in Birmingham
Pro-chancellor: Eric Swainson, Honorary visiting research fellow: Dr A. J. Edwards; DSc for T. A. Hamor (chemistry), Visiting senior lecturer: J. Corbett (civil engineering). Lecturers: P. A. Collier (management Centre); Mrs M. Bennett-Palmer (French); Dr P. A. Lambert (pharmacy). Contract research assistants: Mrs M. E. Tucker (joint unit for research on urban environment); J. R. Corbett (mathematics); S. Maddock and P. Whittaker (metallurgy and materials engineering); J. Bird (pharmacy); P. J. Iredale (chemical engineering).

London, Department of Extra-Mural Studies
Honorary Consultant in adult education communication: Dr Harley D. Cautrey. Resident staff tutor: Mrs Mary Somerby.

UMIST
Vice-principals of the Institute: Professor B. J. Davies and Professor R. H. Waller.

Oxford
Wilde lecturer in natural and comparative religion: Professor Stewart Ross Sutherland. Angelus Writing lecturer for Michaelmas term, 1981: Professor Pavel Oliva.

Belfast, The Queen's
Readers: Dr F. W. Boal and Dr R. H. Buchanan (geography); D. D. Davlin (English); Dr R. H. Ferrott (computer Science); Dr D. H. Armitage (pure mathematics); Dr F. Murphy (biochemistry); Dr S. Swain (applied mathematics and theoretical physics); Dr F. J. Gordon (crop and animal production). Promotions to senior lecturers: B. A. Childs (common law); Dr F. S. Coffey (pharmacy); Dr G. W. Cran (applied mathematics and theoretical physics); Dr J. C. Earnshaw (pure and applied physics); Dr R. R. Eccleshall (political science); Dr O. T. Fresold (civil engineering); Dr R. Hingorani (electrical and electronic engineering); Mrs M. P. Patten (extramural studies); Dr J. J. M. Pettigrew (social anthropology); A. R. Platts (economics); Dr P. J. Rogers (further professional studies in education); Dr R. J. A. Talbert (ancient history); Dr R. K. Young (further professional studies); Dr G. D. Johnston (therapeutics and pharmacology); Dr E. C. O'Gorman (mental health). Lecturers: E. F. Logan (veterinary medicine); John W. Cairns (jurisprudence); David Sean Martyn-Beck and George Whitley Radcliffe (accounting). Conferment of titles: Honorary research fellows: Dr John J. Sweeney (chemistry); Dr Jean Whyte (psychology). Research associate: Ann Pitts (English).

Salford
Acting vice-chancellor: Professor Tom Constantine.

Wales
Registrar of the University: Emrys Wynn Jones.

Colleges

Paisley College of Technology
Senior lecturer: A. Leyshon (economics and management).
Lecturers: D. W. E. Leithead (mathematics and computing); R. Cumming (SSNDT); Dr A. J. Loughran (Technology Centre).
Assistant director of microelectronics, educational development centre: Dr S. J. C. Rushbrook Williams.

Roehampton Institute of Higher Education
Heads of department: Dr E. Pickerd (psychology); Dr R. R. Burgess (history); Dr C. Spiers (modern languages); Dr D. Cappit (mathematics).

Royal College of Art
Sir Hugh Casson, President of the Royal Academy, has been appointed provost, succeeding the late Sir Colin Anderson, who was first provost of the college after it received its Charter in 1967.

Grants

Universities

Bath
Engineering—Professor D. E. Rowns—£73,800 from the Ministry of Defence for work on the dynamic design of naval hydraulic systems.
Management—J. F. Lowe—£22,850 from the Leverhulme Trust for research into technology licensing and the small firm.
Pharmacy and pharmacology — Dr D. J. C. Davies—£19,400 from the Department of Health and Social Security for research into the development of an ultra low temperature steam formaldehyde sterilization process.

Dundee
Anatomy—Dr J. H. M. Smart and Dr R. S. Sturrock—£9,014 from the MRC with connection with research into interadrenergic studies of lacrimal management in the mouse.

MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
The President of the Association, Professor [illegible] Gibbs, will deliver his Presidential Address on Saturday, 7th March, 1981, at 3 p.m. in the Lecture Theatre of the English Faculty Building, West Road, Cambridge.
Members and their friends are welcome to attend.
Further details from the Secretary, Modern Humanities Research Association, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT.

Biochemistry—Dr D. Boxer and Dr B. A. Haddock—£28,588 from the SRC in connection with their research into iron and molybdenum insertion into formate dehydrogenase and nitrate reductase of escherichia coli. Dr B. Burchell—£79,375 from the Wellcome Trust in connection with his research into the prediction and prevention of drug-induced illness and toxicity. Professor P. B. Garland—£16,363 from the SRC with connection with his research on a method to measure the rational mobility of hormones and other receptors at the surface of individual cells. Dr D. C. Harding—£35,766 from the MRC in connection with his research into the regulation of liporeductive in phosphorylation/dephosphorylation studies in intact cells. Dr Civil Engineering — Professor A. C. Vardy—£53,361 from the SRC in connection with his research into the durability of epoxy resin adhesive joints.

Biochemistry—Professor J. J. McManus—£10,634 from the Scottish Home and Health Department in connection with his research into lay justices in Scotland.

Psychiatry—Dr D. R. Mac—£24,446 from the Scottish Home and Health Department to assist his research into the adolescent mentally handicapped and the transition from school to adulthood. Dr A. S. Heather—£14,100 from the MRC to enable him to continue his research evaluation of the effectiveness of [illegible] in the treatment of alcohol abusers by behavioural psychotherapy.

Physiology—Dr A. J. Wilson—£47,643 from the MRC to investigate the possible use of skin transplantation of guinea pigs in the treatment and reconstruction of extensive skin defects and the effects over very long periods of time. Dr C. D. Ferguson—£28,443 from the Department of Energy for connection with a project on the prevention of hydrogen embrittlement in sour oil and gas pipelines; £15,000 from the NRDC for a carbode catalyst project.

Centre for Banking and International Finance—Professor Brian Griffiths and Dr P. F. P. Hood—£43,643 from the SSRC for a monetary history of the United Kingdom, 1870-1970.

Institute of Education
Mental Handicap—Dr C. C. Kiernan—£91,912 from the Department of Health and Social Security to support a project on teaching speech signs and symbols to severely mentally handicapped children.

Family planning nurses—A. Bagtile—£21,755 from the Department of Health and Social Security for investigation of the [illegible] of family planning nurses.

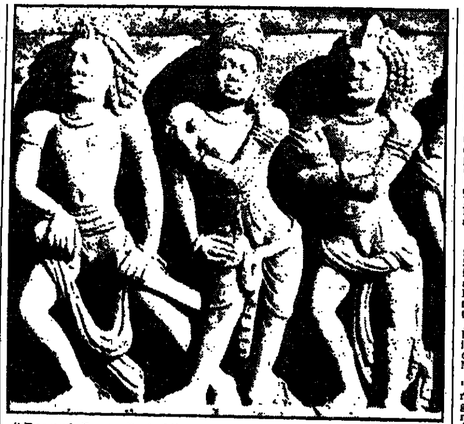
Racism, adolescence and language—Dr R. Hewitt—31,822 from the Nuffield Foundation for a direct year investigation.

Leeds
Economics — Professor Allen—£41,395 for a fellowship from the National Union of Mineworkers in connection with research into Volume II of the History of the Yorkshire Mines.

Education — Professor Layton and Mr Herbert—£107,753 from the DES for an investigation into performance in science in school in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Earth Sciences—Dr R. Elderfield—£29,569 from the NERC for an investigation of factors controlling the transport of chemical components across the sediment water interface.

Chemistry—Professor R. S. Davidson—£17,000 from the SRC for the study of electron transfer processes in photoinduced oxidation reactions. £16,075 from the SRC for investigation of possible use of triplet state pinacolone photochromic in solar energy cells. Dr A. J. Welch—£21,507 from the SRC for structure studies in chemistry. Dr C. D. Tavares—£28,443 from the Department of Energy for connection with a project on the prevention of hydrogen embrittlement in sour oil and gas pipelines.



"Deogarh-Gupta Period", one of the illustrations in the photocollection on South Asian art edited by Susan L. Huntington and Walter M. Spink which is now available on microfiche. So far the collection amounts to 7,114 photographs but when it is completed this will increase to 15,000. (Available from the Inter Documentation Company, AG Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland.

Recent publications

Lord Butler: The 1944 Act in retrospect, by Dr F. B. Sullivan, a new Open University package presenting on audiotape, a unique interview about the 1944 Education Act with Lord Butler, its architect. An accompanying booklet explores the major issues and events surrounding the Act. It provides essential background information to the cassette but can also stand alone as a very useful overview for students (£9.95 plus VAT, individual copies of the booklet are £1.20; inquiries to Open University Educational Enterprises Ltd, 12 Cofferidge Close, Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes MK11 1BY).

Child Language Transcripts 6-12, four volumes of transcripts of natural spoken texts of children aged 6 to 12 together with the accompanying tapes have been produced by the Department of Behavioural and Communication Studies, Polytechnic of Wales. The volumes are the result of the first phase of work on the Child language development project being undertaken by the polytechnic. (Orders to Dr Robin Fawcett, department of behavioural and communication studies, Polytechnic of Wales, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan £15 for the four volumes).

Exams Brief: An 'Employers' Guide to School Exams aims to provide employers with a straightforward explanation of the current school examination system. The booklet supports the use of graded examination results. It says that the pass/fail approach is not appropriate in GCE and CSE's and that grades are a more informative way of recording different levels of achievement. It has been prepared by the Schools Council with the assistance of Understanding British Industry, an organization set up by the CBI Education Foundation to help pupils and teachers understand industry and commerce. (Copies from the Mailings Officer, Schools Council Information Centre, 160 Great Portland Street, London W1N, £3 for 10 copies including postage.)

Theatrum Botanicum: The Theater of Plants or an Herball of a Large Extent, by John Parkinson. A first edition which contains an ample and exact history and declaration of the "Physical Herbs and Plants that in other Authours, encreased by the accesse of many hundreds of new, rare and strange plants from all parts of the world". (£1,250 available from Timothy Shaw Old and Rare Books, 1 Telegraph Street, London EC2.)

British Education Index said to be an indispensable aid for everyone concerned with any aspect of education. It lists and analyses articles of more lasting interest from all worthwhile British Journals covering education and related subjects (annual subscription £18, overseas £24 from subscription department, the British Library, Store Street, London WC1).

Forthcoming events

"North-South: A Programme for Survival: The Role of Education" a three-day conference which will aim to remedy the lack of discussion regarding the educational implications of the Brandt Commission report is to be held at the University of Bristol school of education, 35 Berkeley Square, Bristol, from January 5 to 7. Speakers include Professor F. R. C. Williams, department of education in developing countries, Institute of Education, Professor A. Taylor, department of education, University College, Cardiff. Fee: £6.50. Further details from Roger Garrett, conference coordinator at the above address.

* * *

"Wiener's Tauberian Theorem from the Gaussian Semigroup", by Dr A. M. Sinclair, and "Recent Developments in the Representation Theory of Locally Compact Nilpotent Groups" by Professor W. Moran, are two of the topics to be discussed at a meeting of the London Mathematical Society on January 16 at the Geological Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly. Enquiries to Dr R. A. Bailey, faculty of mathematics, The Open University, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA.

* * *

"Capital, Politics and Ideology", a meeting of the political sociology study group (BSA/PSA) is to be held at Rusmoor House, Sheffield University on January 8 and 9. Papers will cover corporatism, the CBI, finance capital, landed capital, small businesses. Further details from Mr Roger King, department of environmental sciences, Huddersfield Polytechnic, Huddersfield, Yorkshire.

* * *

The Institute of British Geographers is holding its conference at the University of Leicester from January 5 to 8. Among the main speakers will be Dr D. Green, former minister of health, on the role of central government in health service planning and resource allocation; Professor David Ward of the University of Wisconsin, talking on the ethnic ghetto in American cities; and Professor A. C. Rendrew of the University of Southampton, looking at an archeological view of space, time and man. Further details from Dr J. R. Rice, department of geography, Leicester University.

* * *

"Education and the New Technology", by Geoffrey Hubbard, director of Council for Educational Technology, a lecture to be delivered on January 8 at 6 pm at the Royal Society of Arts, John Adam Street, London WC2.

* * *

The Wolfson College Lectures on social theory and political practice for 1981 are as follows: "Introduction to Social Theory and Political Practice" by Professor Alan Montefiore; "Theories of the London School of Economics" (January 20); "Social Theory and Politics in the History of Social Thought" by Professor Tom Bottomore, school of social sciences, Sussex University (January 27); "Philosophical Problems of the Relationship of Theory and Politics" by Professor Charles Taylor, Chichele professor of social and political theory, Oxford University (February 3); "Contemporary Political Theory and Politics" by Professor David Marquand, department of sociological and political studies, University of Salford (February 10); "Social Theory and Politics in Modern Britain" by Professor Stuart Hall, "department of Sociology, Open University (February 17); "Marxism and Communism" by Dr Wlodzimierz Brus, lecturer in modern Russian and East European politics, Oxford University (February 24); "Social Facts and Political Values" by Professor Amartya Sen, Drummond professor of political economy, Oxford University (March 3); "Social Theory, social understanding and political action" by Mr John Dunn, reader in political science, Cambridge University (March 10). All lectures are open to the public and will be given at Wolfson College, Oxford at Tuesdays at 5 pm.

* * *

"Macfarlane and After", a one-day conference on the education and employment of 15- to 19-year-olds is organized by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, to be held on February 7 at Maddox Street, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London, WC1. Speakers will include Mr Richard Bird, deputy secretary at the Department of Education and Science on the DES view, and Mr Neil Kinnock, Opposition spokesman on education, giving the Labour Party view. Mr Geoffrey Holland and Councillor Nicky Harrison. Fee: £10. Further details from Mr Mick Farley, conference secretary, NATFHE, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London, WC1.

* * *

The first national video users' conference is to be held at the North East London Polytechnic on February 20. The aim of the conference is to increase awareness of the range of possible applications of video which can be put. Speakers are to be acknowledged experts in the field and demonstrations will be given by users in community work, industry, education and training. Fee: £12.50 for individuals, £17.50 for organisations. Further details from Mrs D. Darke, administrative officer, School of Education and Humanities Short Course Unit, NELP, Longbridge Road, Dagenham, Essex.

Classified Advertisements

To place your advertisements write to:
The Advertisement Manager, The Times Higher Education Supplement, P.O. Box 7, New Printing House Square, Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ.
Tel. 01-837 1234.

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Universities

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW ENGLAND
Australia
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
CENTRE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

LECTURESHIP
(Permanent Tenure)

Applications are invited for a tenured lectureship in one of the largest and most active Centres for the study of educational administration in the Commonwealth of Nations. The Centre's teaching and research activities are primarily postgraduate in emphasis. Associated with it are the office of The Journal of Educational Administration, the secretariat of the Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration and an Institute for Higher Education.

Applicants should have a higher degree, preferably a doctorate, and teaching and research experience in at least one of the following areas:

Organization Theory: Conversance with the work of the theorists is necessary. Familiarity with organizational design/development and modern organizational forms would be an advantage.

Administration Theory: Conversance with the work of the theorists is necessary, particularly as applied to the administration of primary and/or secondary schools.

Higher Education: A theory background in psychology of adult learning is desired together with experience in academic staff development programmes in colleges or universities.

Appointment is available from as early as possible in 1981.

SALARY RANGE: $A17,730-$A23,303
CLOSING DATE: 30 January, 1981.
POSITION NO.: 832

Applications, including the names and addresses of three referees and stating the position number should be sent to the Staff Officer, The University of New England, Armidale, New South Wales, 2351 Australia, prior to the closing date. Applicants should ask their referees to send their reports direct to the Staff Officer.

University of Sheffield
Data Processing Officer
(Scale 1)1,165-£13,080 p.a.)

The post of Data Processing Officer will shortly be vacant following the resignation of Mr Brian Woods. The successful candidate will lead a team of two Analysts, three Programmers and other staff engaged in maintaining and developing computer systems costing financial administration, staff and student statistics, etc., for an organisation of nearly 10,000.

A new System Packard 3,000 Series 44 Computer with full on line facilities is due for delivery in March, 1981.

The vacancy is a senior one and calls for proven up to date computer systems experience, and the ability to work effectively with all levels, from academic to the educational field is very desirable and knowledge of Management Information Systems would be an advantage. The appointment will be made on Grade 10 (£11,085 - £12,080 p.a.) under review with appropriate conditions of service.

A job specification is available from Mrs Hammond, Telephone 0742-78555, Ext. 4022.

Applications, giving a full curriculum vitae should be sent to the Director of Services, The University of Sheffield, Western Bank, Sheffield S10 2TN.

ABERYSTWYTH
THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES

CHAIR OF STATISTICS

The College Council, having established a Chair of Statistics tenable from October 1981:

Further particulars are available from the Registrar (Staff), The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth SY23 2AX, to whom letters of application (6 copies) containing the names of three referees should be sent not later than January 31, 1981.

BELFAST
THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

LECTURESHIP IN FRENCH

Applications are invited for a lectureship in the department of French, tenable from April 1, 1981 or such earlier date as may be arranged. Candidates should possess qualifications in any field of French studies will be considered, but preference may be given to applicants with specialist qualifications and experience in translation and interpreting and/or in psycholinguistics and French society. Applications, which will depend on age, experience and qualifications, will be made at one of the five points on the Lecturer A scale (£6,060 - £7,560 per annum, according to age, qualifications and experience).

Further particulars may be obtained from the Assistant Registrar (P.P.), The University, Queen's Square, Belfast BT7 1NN, to whom applications (3 copies) together with the names of two referees should be forwarded by January 31, 1981.

CAMBRIDGE
THE UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

University lecturer in the study of politics. Communists since 1945 and Politics in the Republic of Ireland. Open to specialists in European Communism with interests in the politics of Ireland and/or Britain and experience in teaching and supervising undergraduates. Stipend within the range £2,915 to £6,810 (under review) according to qualifications and experience. Pensionable with F.S.S.U.

Further details of the position and of the University to be obtained from the Secretary, Appointments Committee (Academic), The Old Schools, Cambridge CB2 1TN, to whom applications (6 copies) should be sent by February 6, 1981.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
THE UNIVERSITY OF
THE LANGUAGE CENTRE

Applications are invited for a SECRETARY/RECEPTIONIST in ISLAMIC STUDIES in the Language Centre. Salary will be £5,166 rising by annual increments to £5,868 per annum according to age, qualifications and experience.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Assistant Registrar (P.P.), The University, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU, to whom applications (3 copies) together with the names of two referees should be forwarded by January 31, 1981.

NEW ZEALAND
MASSEY UNIVERSITY
Palmerston North

LECTURER IN MICROBIOLOGY

A vacancy exists in the DEPARTMENT OF MICROBIOLOGY and GENETICS for a LECTURER IN MICROBIOLOGY. Intending applicants should have a doctorate which is strictly based in general microbiology and/or immunology. Interests extend into the fields of molecular biology are encouraged as is ability to participate in the general teaching programme. It is anticipated that the person appointed will occupy new accommodation in 1982 and that this will permit extension of research facilities and personnel. Applicants should have a minimum of two years' experience with undergraduates and supervision of graduate students.

Further details of the position and of the University to be obtained from the Registrar, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. Applications (2 copies) should be forwarded to reach the Registrar by the 28th February, 1981.

Applications close on February 6, 1981.

NEW ZEALAND
MASSEY UNIVERSITY
Palmerston North

LECTURER IN MICROBIOLOGY

A vacancy exists in the DEPARTMENT OF MICROBIOLOGY and GENETICS for a LECTURER IN MICROBIOLOGY. Intending applicants should have a doctorate which is strictly based in general microbiology and/or immunology. Interests extend into the fields of molecular biology are encouraged as is ability to participate in the general teaching programme. It is anticipated that the person appointed will occupy new accommodation in 1982 and that this will permit extension of research facilities and personnel. Applicants should have a minimum of two years' experience with undergraduates and supervision of graduate students.

Further details of the position and of the University to be obtained from the Registrar, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. Applications (2 copies) should be forwarded to reach the Registrar by the 28th February, 1981.

NEW ZEALAND
MASSEY UNIVERSITY
Palmerston North

DEPARTMENT OF MARKETING

LECTURER IN MARKETING
(Contract Appointment)

Applications are invited for the above-mentioned appointment in the DEPARTMENT OF MARKETING. Applicants should have a University degree and have substantial experience in teaching and/or practising Marketing Management.

The appointee will develop and teach courses in Marketing Management and in other courses related to their field of specialisation within the framework consistent with his/her experience and interests. It is envisaged that the successful applicant will be encouraged to develop a programme of research and writing. Under certain circumstances, however, an applicant may be appointed primarily for a higher degree.

Contract appointments are for a term of up to three years, are not normally renewable, but carry with them a right of return to a permanent position.

Salary range NZ$13,785 to NZ$16,830 (subject to review).

Further details of the position and of the university to be obtained from the Registrar, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand, to whom applications should be forwarded not later than February 28, 1981.

SOUTH AFRICA
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND
Johannesburg

DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYING

SECOND CHAIR
IN SURVEYING

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons, regardless of sex, race, colour or national origin, for appointment to the above post. Consideration will also be given to an appointment at the Associate Professor level. Initial salary will be according to the successful applicant's qualifications and experience. The appointee will be required to contribute to the graduate programmes in Urban Planning and Urban Planning organized by the Centre of Urban Studies. In addition to teaching duties, members will be expected to undertake research and to supervise graduate students. They should play a leading role in the development of the Centre of Urban Studies and will be expected to undertake consultancy work. Preference will be given to applicants with experience in one or more of the main branches of surveying.

The department offers a comprehensive range of undergraduate courses in the fields of astronautical, Precision Engineering and Photogrammetrical Surveying and in Photogrammetry, the opportunity to undertake specialized consulting work for up to 8 hours per week and an established continuing Engineering Education programme having lecturers of international rank. A course in advanced survey technology for Surveyors is one of its activities.

Salary will be in the following ranges: Professor R37,100-R39,100 per annum; Associate Professor R31,450-R34,750 per annum, (£1 equals R1.76 approx.).

In addition an annual service bonus is payable. The effective level of taxation is considerably lower in South Africa than in many countries.

Interesting applicants should obtain the information sheet relating to this post from the Registrar, The University of the Witwatersrand, Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg, South Africa 2001, with whom applications should be lodged not later than February 6, 1981.

The closing date for applications is February 28, 1981.

SOUTH AFRICA
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND
Johannesburg

CHAIR OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons, regardless of sex, race, colour or national origin, for appointment to the above post. Consideration will also be given to an appointment at the Associate Professor level.

The incumbent will be expected to take responsibility for the undergraduate and postgraduate teaching of the Division of Industrial Psychology, which is part of the School of Psychology, which is headed by the Professor of Psychology. Professors, in addition to undertaking research and teaching duties, are required to provide specialized courses for the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees and to take supervision of the provision of courses for other degree curricula.

Advanced academic qualifications and a record of research background in industrial psychology or a related discipline are essential. Industrial psychology will be a recognized subject.

Salary will be in the following ranges: Professor R37,100-R39,100 per annum; Associate Professor, R31,450-R34,750 per annum, (£1 equals R1.76 approx.).

The initial salary and level of appointment will be determined according to the qualifications and experience of the successful applicant. In addition to a salary, members of staff receive an annual bonus based on a service bonus, a provident fund scheme and facilities and assistance for research.

Intending applicants should obtain the information sheet pertaining to these posts from the Registrar, The University of the Witwatersrand, Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg, South Africa 2001, with whom applications should be lodged not later than February 28, 1981.

SHEFFIELD
THE UNIVERSITY
CAREERS ADVISORY SERVICE

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Assistant Careers Adviser. Information is the Careers Advisory Service or an area responsibility for which the holder should have a strong interest in the social sciences and a flair for careers information work. Experience of graduate recruitment would be an advantage. Appointments will be on a two-year contract basis. Applicants should have an honours degree or professional qualification but not necessarily both. Experience of counselling is desirable but not essential.

Salary scale: £5,875 to £7,365 (under review) plus £1,095 to £1,410 of the Additional Responsibility Grade (ARG) to £8,700 a year (under review) with U.S.S. membership.

Particulars from the Appointments Secretary, The University, Sheffield S10 2TN, to whom applications should be sent by January 31, 1981.

Ref R530/DI.

HONGKONG
THE UNIVERSITY

LECTURERSHIP IN URBAN PLANNING
(Reappointment)

Applications are invited for a post of Lecturer in Urban Planning jointly in the Centre of Urban Studies and Planning and the School of Architecture. Applicants should have a master degree in urban planning or their equivalent and should possess qualifications for professional membership as recognized urban planning institutions in Britain, Australia, New Zealand or Canada. Additional teaching and research experience would be an asset. The appointee will be initially appointed for one year with possible renewal for a further two years.

Salary will be within the range Assistant Professor, £10,140 - £12,180 per annum. Senior Lecturer, £12,720 to £15,360 per annum. Lecturer, £9,120 to £11,880 p.a. Assistant Lecturer, £7,560 to £8,580 per annum. Junior Lecturer, £6,240 to £7,080 per annum. Tutor, £5,580 to £6,180 p.a. (£1 equals $11.76 approx.).

The initial salary and level of appointment will be determined according to the qualifications and experience of the successful applicant. Benefits include a non-contributory pension and annual bonus based on a salary scale, provident fund, assisted passages and housing assistance.

Intending applicants should obtain further information about positions in these posts from the University Grants Committee, Universities Service Unit, 3 Crown Office Row, Temple, London EC4Y 7HP, Telephone 01-583 6626 (24 hour answering service) or from the Registrar, The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong. Applications should be sent to the Registrar, The University of the Witwatersrand, Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg, South Africa 2001, to whom applications should be lodged not later than February 28, 1981.

CAMBRIDGE
THE UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY ASSISTANT LECTURERSHIP (SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES)

University Assistant Lectureship in Social and Political Science. Applications are invited from graduates in the first year of their first permanent post who have a strong interest in the politics of industrial societies. Applications should be made on a form obtainable from the Secretary, Faculty of Economics and Politics, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge CB3 9DD, to whom they should be returned by February 6, 1981.

WEST SUSSEX
NEW ENGLAND COLLEGE
BRITISH CAMPUS

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Applications are invited for the new post of Lecturership to which have been added the position of Assistant Professor of Political Science and Sociology in International Affairs.

Further details may be obtained from the Academic Dean, New England College, Henniker, New Hampshire 03242, USA, telephone Antrim 06-588, or when applications (one copy) should be sent by January 31, 1981.

University of London

Deputy Personnel Officer

£10,187-£12,542 p.a. (under review)

A challenging position within the Establishment Division for an experienced professional, able to provide an overall and detailed service to University management on personnel policies and employment matters affecting individual members, or groups of academically related and clerical staff.

Specific duties range from dealing with personal or work matters as well as those presented by Trade Unions or Staff Associations, to supervision of arrangements for a number of Selection Committees and responsibility to the Personnel Officer for the efficient day-to-day operation of the personnel office.

Candidates will have a university degree and/or I.P.M. qualification. Benefits include 4 weeks' holiday a year plus generous conditions at Christmas, New Year and other statutory holidays; Season ticket loans: reasonably priced restaurant. (Salary range includes London allowance).

Applicants male or female, should write for application form and further details to: The Personnel Office, University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU—or telephone 01-636 8000 ext. 15. Closing date for applications 23rd January 1981.

University of London

Chair of Philosophy at Bedford College

The Senate invite applications for the Chair of Philosophy at Bedford College. Preference will be given to applicants who have a wide range of philosophical interests.

Applications (10 copies) should be submitted to the Academic Registrar (THES), University of London, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU, from whom further particulars should first be obtained. Closing date 13 February, 1981.

Fellowships and Studentships

CLARE HALL, CAMBRIDGE

The Governing Body of Clare Hall proposes to elect one stipendiary

Research Fellow

(the stipend for 1981/82 is £4,000 plus accommodation allowance and optional membership of U.S.S.) and one or more non-stipendiary Research Fellows, for a period of three years from October, 1981. These fellowships carry an entitlement to College Commons. There are no restrictions on age, sex, or field of study. Applications in duplicate, should reach the President, Clare Hall, Herschel Road, Cambridge CB3 9AL, not later than 26th February, 1981.

They should include

(a) A cover sheet stating the field of study and title of proposed research;

(b) a Curriculum Vitae, with a note of any published work;

(c) a short account of any research now in progress;

(d) a statement of the research proposed (in approximately 500-1,000 words);

(e) the names of two referees, whom the candidate has asked to send to Clare Hall, by the closing date, an appraisal of his potentialities for research.

Colleges of Further Education continued

DAVIES'S COLLEGE

(An Independent College of Further Education)
41 Cromwell Road, Hove, East Sussex BN3 3ER
Principal: R. Bellerby, M.A., B.Sc.

FULL-TIME COURSE TUTORS UNIVERSITY OF LONDON EXTERNAL DEGREES LL.B B.Sc. (ECON)

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Honours Graduates with teaching experience for a new department which is due to open in October 1981. PART TIME LECTURERS will also be required for the above courses.

Further details may be obtained from the College. Applications should contain a full c.v. and the names, addresses and telephone numbers of two academic referees and should be submitted by the 16th February 1981.

Polytechnics

SUNDERLAND
THE POLYTECHNIC
FACULTY OF ENGINEERING
DEPARTMENT OF MINING
[illegible]

SUNDERLAND
THE POLYTECHNIC
FACULTY OF ENGINEERING
DEPARTMENT OF MINING
LECTURER II IN MINING
LECTURER II IN GEOLOGY
[illegible]

Research Posts

[illegible]

Personal

IMMEDIATE ADVANCES
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PRODUCTION ENGINEERING
KEY ACADEMIC APPOINTMENT
IRELAND

The recent rapid expansion of manufacturing industry within the country has generated a significant increase in demand for engineering graduates and a growth in applied research activity. As a result, planning is at an advanced stage to double the size of the 2,000-student World Bank financed Riverside Campus, and to significantly expand activities at the undergraduate and post-graduate levels.

While working closely with industry and the innovation centre, which is now being constructed on campus, the person appointed to this key post will provide academic leadership for the existing team of engineers in the manufacturing area, will be responsible for the further development of the 4-year Bachelor's degree in Production Engineering, the introduction of appropriate postgraduate programmes and related applied research activity.

The governing body will confer the title Professor of Production Engineering on the person appointed to the post who has the necessary qualifications and proven record of achievement.

SALARY RANGE: IR£15,390 to IR£18,819 p.a.

Application material available from the Personnel Office, The National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick, Ireland, should be completed and returned by 30th January, 1981.

AUSTRALIA
Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology Limited

LECTURER
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION & ELECTRONIC ENGINEERING

Applications are invited from graduate engineers to participate in the Department's teaching and applied research programmes in communication and electronic engineering. Applicants should preferably have a higher degree, and related professional or teaching experience. The appointment may be on a tenured or limited term (until 31 December, 1983) basis.

Salary $A17,739-$A23,301 p.a.

A position description should be obtained from Staff Branch, RMIT, Box 2476V, G.P.O. Melbourne 3001. Applications quoting Ref. No. 112/11/AN to the Staff Officer by January 23rd, 1981.

CANADA
SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY
Halifax, Nova Scotia
DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY

Applications are invited for a probationary faculty appointment position commencing in September, 1981. The position is in the field of sedimentology and/or structural geology with emphasis on coal and/or petroleum geology. Ph.D required. The successful candidate will be expected to develop a strong research program in the area of coal and/or petroleum geology. Teaching responsibilities will include undergraduate courses in the general area of structural geology and sedimentology.

Rank and salary are open. Send applications and resumes including the names and addresses of three referees to: Chairman, Department of Geology, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 3C3.

CANADA
THE UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

APPOINTMENT IN MODERN EUROPE OR/AND MEDIEVAL/EARLY MODERN HISTORY

City position at the ASSISTANT PROFESSOR level being sought in Modern European History or Medieval/Early Modern History. Candidates should undergraduate and graduate teaching experience. Applicant must have a commitment to teaching, the undergraduate level and to research.

Salary: Assistant Professor $A [illegible]

Applications including a curriculum vitae, transcripts and reference should be sent to the Dean, Department of History, University of Lethbridge, Alberta T1K 3M4. Applications must be received by January 31st, 1981. Appointment to be effective July 1st, 1981 or as soon thereafter as possible. Preference will be given to Canadian citizens and to those who have completed the requirements for the doctorate. Applications may be submitted by persons who expect to complete the requirements for the doctorate by June 30th, 1981, but the appointment will be offered only to those who have completed the requirements for the doctorate by that date.

CANADA
THE UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

APPOINTMENT IN ECONOMICS

City position at the ASSISTANT PROFESSOR level being sought in Economics. Candidates should undergraduate and graduate teaching experience. Applicant must have a commitment to teaching, the undergraduate level and to research.

Salary: Assistant Professor $A [illegible]

Applications including a curriculum vitae, transcripts and reference should be sent to the Dean, Department of Economics, University of Lethbridge, Alberta T1K 3M4. Applications must be received by January 31st, 1981. Appointment to be effective July 1st, 1981 or as soon thereafter as possible. Preference will be given to Canadian citizens and to those who have completed the requirements for the doctorate. Applications may be submitted by persons who expect to complete the requirements for the doctorate by June 30th, 1981, but the appointment will be offered only to those who have completed the requirements for the doctorate by that date.

CANADA
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

Applications are invited for a tenure-stream appointment as associate professor (budget permitting). Qualifications must include publications of high quality and an established competence to teach graduate courses in the history of English criticism. Strength in other areas is desirable. This appointment would begin on July 1 1981, or, under special circumstances, July 1 1982.

Salary will depend upon qualifications the floor for this rank is now $35,100. This appointment could also be arranged as a visiting associate professorship for 1981-82.

Applications, with vitae and names of referees, should be sent to Denton Fox, Chairman, Department of English, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1. Applications received after March 15 may be too late to be considered.

Fellowships and Studentships continued

LONDON
THE UNIVERSITY OF
OSBORN MEMORIAL
STUDENTSHIP IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

Applications are invited for the OSBORN MEMORIAL STUDENTSHIP for postgraduate study in Oriental languages, tenable in the Department of Oriental Languages, University of Oxford. The Studentship is of the value of £1,500 per annum and is intended for the purpose of the holder's attending a course of study and research in Oxford or elsewhere, or of travelling for the purpose of study and research, or of both. The Studentship is open to graduates of any University in the United Kingdom or the Republic of Ireland who have completed the requirements for the degree of B.Litt. or B.Phil. or who will have completed them by the time they would take up the Studentship if elected to it, and who are under the age of 25 on 1st October 1981. Candidates must be nominated by the Head of their College or Department.

Applications may be submitted by persons who expect to complete the requirements for the doctorate by June 30th, 1981, but the appointment will be offered only to those who have completed the requirements for the doctorate by that date.

CANADA
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
[illegible]

CANADA
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
[illegible]

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Union view

Our own sense of unity with Ulster

If you read the small print of the press reports of our national conference a few weeks ago, you might have noticed that we had a debate about Northern Ireland. So what? Is not NUS always discussing whether Irish history took a wrong turn in 1169, 1690 or 1921, and whether British troops should be in, out, or permanently stationed hsilf-way across the Irish sea? Well, actually no—we had not had a full debate about Northern Ireland for five years, and like most things in NUS, the focus of our debate has radically changed in the meantime. The bulk of the motion which was eventually passed was concerned with the needs of students in Northern Ireland, and insofar as they have to live every day in the highly charged political atmosphere of the province, with how they might look forward to a lasting peace rather than backward in bitterness.

But why does NUS bother discussing Northern Ireland in the first place? Do we enjoy swapping slogans and insults about what seems to many British people another far-away place? Do we enjoy testing out our pet "solutions" from the relative safety of British colleges? No doubt, some political groups do approach debate from this sort of angle—they are the ones who explain everything in terms of "imperialism", and retain a romantic attachment to the Provisional IRA as some sort of liberating force.

But I have found in visiting colleges in Britain, and at our conference, that students have a genuine interest in Northern Ireland, and are quite prepared to come to grips with the province's appalling complexities, providing they do not get slogans or simplistic "solutions" rammed down their throats.

And above all, I have found students in Northern Ireland sick and tired of being told what to do by coffee-bar revolutionaries in British colleges who have never experienced the tension and sheer dreariness of life in an area frozen by political stalemate, tribal conflict and deep conservatism in attitudes and relationships. The primary reason why NUS is concerned about Northern Ireland is because thousands of those students in Northern Ireland are members of NUS and look to their local and national student unions as one way of improving their lives.

Until the mid-1970s, students and student unions in Northern Ireland were divided by sectarian allegiances. Unions whose members were predominantly catholic belonged to the Dublin-based Union of Students in Ireland, while unions whose members were predominantly protestant were affiliated to NUSUK. Then a campaign against sectarianism developed among students in the north, accompanied by negotiations between the two national unions to agree joint activity and a joint membership system for Northern Irish students. It was not easy—one student was shot dead and another blinded after attending a meeting of the campaign and throughout students have had to put up with intimidation and violence from various paramilitary organizations. It has been known for student activists from Northern Ireland to seek refuge in London after threats have been made by paramilitaries, and NUS executive members responsible for our work in Northern Ireland have also had to watch their step.

There is not the same tradition among Northern Irish students of moving away from home to go to college as there is in Britain, which means that they are less inclined to look to their students union as the focus of their social activity. And of course there is the ever-present problem of the sectarian divide which affects students as much as anyone else, and can prevent them coming together.

NUS

In spite of all these difficulties, we have managed to maintain the formal unity of students in Northern Ireland, which is a real achievement: the NI region of NUS/USI is quite unique, as the only mass organization in Northern Ireland which unites people from all cultural backgrounds and actively opposes sectarianism. I do not think it is arrogant to say that there are lessons for other people in our experience of bringing Northern Irish students together, and of cooperation in that between ourselves in the UK and USI in the Republic, not least for Mrs Thatcher and Charles Haughey!

So that is that context in which we came to our debate a few weeks ago. We had made a special effort in the months beforehand to inform students in Britain about the basis of our work in Northern Ireland, and to encourage a calm and constructive attitude to the issues involved. We had toured British colleges, distributed information and organized a delegation of 12 British students to see the situation in the North for themselves. Our efforts paid off in what most people agree was the most constructive debate in NUS for some years. The restraint shown by all speakers and political groups was particularly impressive. What we ended up with was a clear political statement on Northern Ireland's future, based on the fight for peace, social reform, and democratic politics, and a clear strategy for our work with Northern Irish students.

Our practical priorities are work to develop student unions, to promote student welfare, and to change education to meet the full needs of the community. The immediate focus for our education work is the Review of Higher Education chaired by Sir Henry Chilver, which is due to report some time in the New Year, and if pushed in the right direction could propose radical improvements. Up to now its only published work is the interim report on teacher education, whose fate illustrates graphically the problems of pressing for change in Northern Ireland.

We welcomed the report's proposals to integrate all teacher education in Belfast on a single site, as a major step towards breaking down the religious and sex segregation in the established colleges, along with most other anti-sectarian organizations. But just to show that sectarianism doesn't just exist among Protestants, the Catholic church in Northern Ireland embarked on a systematic campaign against the report, which barely concealed its vested interest in a sectarian education system. Students in the Catholic colleges who supported the report have been told that they have trouble finding jobs in Catholic schools, and it's been suggested that if any college is to close, it should be the New University of Ulster, which despite immense difficulties has done some excellent work in developing new forms of university education. We shall be pressing the government strongly to implement the report.

Andrew Pearmain

The author is vice-president education, of the Nation Union of Students.

Science today

Heat rises from the Thera theory

Robin McKie

The destructive forces which produced the massive eruption of Mount St Helens last May have given stark indication of the power and ferocity of Earth's relentless geology. The explosion caused an estimated £1,000m damage, killed more than 60 people and spewed several cubic kilometres of rock and ash into the air.

Yet the extent of the blast was relatively modest when compared with the many other eruptions that have been recorded by scientists. Examples include the renowned explosion of Krakatoa, off Java, that produced a massive 100ft tidal wave and killed more than 35,000 people.

More interestingly, scientists have found evidence of an even greater eruption, about 3,500 years ago, on the Greek island of Thera—known today as Santorini—70 miles north of Crete. Like Krakatoa, the Thera explosion involved the cyclical building up of large volcanic cones undermined by shattering blasts and collapses.

In the end, a paroxysmal explosion would have shrouded much of the east Mediterranean with suffocating clouds of vapour and dust, produced violent electrical storms and torrential rain and set off severe earthquakes throughout the region, ever since [illegible]

This is not merely of geological interest, for the Thera eruption coincides with the approximate date of one of the most puzzling events in early history—the sudden disappearance of the sophisticated Minoan civilization on Crete. This occurred around 1450 BC, around the time of the Thera blast, and it was first proposed by the late Professor Marinatos that the eruption had been the cause of the downfall of Minoan Crete.

It is not hard to see the attraction of this theory, for Crete would have been covered with layers of hot volcanic ash. Those who survived the earthquakes and fires would have starved among the choked and blanketed fields of the island. (This idea has been taken a stage further by the classics scholar, J. V. Luce, who proposes that Crete—and its cataclysmic destruction provides the model for the enduring myth of Atlantis, although such a theory is hard to prove or disprove).

Yet there are drawbacks to this seemingly neat hypothesis. For one thing, discoveries of volcanic ash distributions in the east Mediterranean indicate that deposits on Crete may not have been as severe as at first thought (only about 6cm).

More importantly, there is the question of the dates of the fall of Minos and the Thera eruption. "Their problem is that there seems to be a distinct interval between the two events of the order of 50 years", warned D. Tarling of Newcastle University in a "Nature" article.

Dating of pottery on Crete and the town of Akrotiri on Thera give dates of destruction dates of 1450 BC for the Minoan civilization and 1500 BC for Thera. Many archaeologists now argue that although the Minoan outpost on Thera was destroyed by the blast, it had nothing to do with the fall of the main island, which probably succumbed to invasion from Mycenaen Greeks from the mainland.

Yet the debate is far from being over, for Professor Peter Warren of Bristol University, has recently argued that ice core samples taken from Greenland ice sheets provides a historical record of volcanic blasts and gives a date of not earlier than 1438 BC for the Thera eruption.

This is far closer to the date of the destruction of Minos, he points out, and supports the original theory of Marinatos and the volcanic destruction of Crete. "It looks as though the new discoveries in Greenland are bringing us near to a solution that the Minoan civilization suffered its most severe destruction from the effects of the huge Thera explosion", he stated.

Certainly the discovery has given hope to those who support the recent hypothesis and promises to revitalize [illegible] already fascinating debate.

Don's diary

Monday

Arrive in at about 11 am after a night on the train and boat from London: I always ask myself *after* the event why I do not fly, because Stranraer at six in the morning is not my idea of fun! Have that awful, grubby and irritable feeling which is a guaranteed response to dossing in the train so I go straight to the sports centre for a shower; we are really lucky that the design of the poly has put all facilities and teaching accommodation under one roof, so its not far to go. I return a new person and start a belated day.

Pester the technicians about the portable camera which has been out getting a new tube for ages now. The repair is costing almost as much as a new, updated version but we are on zero capital expenditure this year and repairs come under consumables. It looks as if the video lend-in to a simulation I am planning is a dead duck; perhaps next year?

Introduce an outside speaker for the in-service BEd course in the evening. There have been some problems with the course this year so I have to send an attendance sheet round. Fifteen students manage to produce 17 signatures.

Tuesday

A lie-in until nine today because I am visiting students in a local further education college. Normally, if I don't leave at 8.10 sharp, the Belfast rush hour ensures I'm late but today is different. Spend a relaxing morning observing and participating in a Youthways scheme and the futility of assessing practical teaching of this kind is driven home. I negotiate my comments with the teacher over lunch and then move on to another part of the college to a hair-dressing theory class. I must say I've never given much thought to the relationship between hair-style and body/head shape but now I know different. After the class, I'm whisked into the salon for a wash and trim, by the teacher herself, a perk at last. Back to the poly, for an evening at my thesis, nourished by a canteen dinner, chips with everything and I'm sure the student acne rate is higher than elsewhere because of it.

Wednesday

Staff course on word-processing today. Spend the morning assisting with organization, the real work is done by the technicians. We are planning to film the session so that we can produce a package for future reference so try out various alternatives to link the VDU to the video system. There's a reasonable turn out for the session. Staff courses are so unpredictable in attendance terms and I'm always cautious because of previous disasters. It seems that people are interested in the technics (video, micros, etc) but not so much in teaching methods, assessment etc. All staff are circulated about our "events" but responses are patchy—perhaps the notices go straight into the bin.

On the spur of the moment, decide to try out the recently re-opened Grand Opera House in Belfast and for £1.50 get very reasonable, last minute seats in the gods. A magnificent setting for Tosca but I'm afraid opera leaves me cold so I ruminate on how things have picked up, entertainment-wise, since I've been here, new cinemas and now the opera house as we're as well, if not better off, than most cities. Brought back to earth by an army road check on the way home but I have never had any bother from them. Just have to be patient.

Thursday

Spend the morning making arrangements to visit a community school in Co. Loughford "down South" no problems over the actual visit but the phone system is in active opposition to me so that I end up shouting, much to the consternation of colleagues.

The highlight of my week is the study skills course with a group of mature students with little formal educational experience. We are discussing poetry and some of the contributions are of an amazing quality. I lower the tone of the session by seeking their help to complete a competition limerick. After all, a free Mini Metro is not to be scoffed at!

Friday

Off early to drive to Dublin for a meeting at Trinity to see if we can set up a higher education research and development group. Dublin in rush hour is a hair-raising experience and I'm relieved when we arrive. A useful day, with representatives from six universities and colleges and promises of support from others. Set up an Irish section of the SRHE and I find myself secretary at the end of the day.

Spend some time in one of those typically small bars with which Dublin abounds, reminiscing with an Ulster Poly exile who's moved south for better salary and prospects than the 6 per cent will allow. Back home again in the evening with no bother except awful roads to contend with—it is only two and a half hours but I have one golden rule; to cross the border before 2 am because the AA in the Republic close down then and the thought of a break-down without assistance does not appeal.

Saturday

Plan more time on my thesis this morning so get to the poly, early only to be confronted by two students wishing to use some of the equipment to prepare a project. I don't have the key to the A-V workshop for security reasons so have quite a hassle to get the place open for them. Inevitably, security is very tight here, but, in this instance, the reasons relate to "walking equipment". In the end, they produce very good posters, using the episcope, so its all been worthwhile.

Spend the afternoon in Bangor which is reminiscent of the small North Wales resorts, decaying but still comfortable and relaxed.

Sunday

Have a day out with glorious weather, and visit Armagh, with its two contrasting but magnificent cathedrals and also the shores of Lough Neagh, the largest inland lake in the British Isles. It is the beauty of places like this this is one—perhaps the notices go straight into the bin.

On the spur of the moment, decide to try out the recently re-opened Grand Opera House in Belfast and for £1.50 get very reasonable, last minute seats in the gods. A magnificent setting for Tosca but I'm afraid opera leaves me cold so I ruminate on how things have picked up, entertainment-wise, since I've been here, new cinemas and now the opera house as we're as well, if not better off, than most cities. Brought back to earth

Tom Baum

The author is a lecturer in educational technology, Ulster Polytechnic.

Laurie Taylor

"It's the Cadbury's Milk Tray. That's what does it every year. There I am after Christmas lunch. Talking quietly and rationally to my parents. Throwing a few smiles at the children. Lending the odd arm to an aged relative. And then we settle down in front of the three-bar electric fire and out come the chocties. Talk about madeline biscuits. One nibble of a raspberry ripple and I'm eight years old. 'Mum, can I start on the second layer? Mum, can I have some more jelly? Mum, can I have the telly on?'"

"*Still there was* Towering Inferno."

"Yes, I suppose so. Bit of fun on Boxing Day. Passes the time. But load of old nonsense really."

"*Oh, I wouldn't quite say that. John Guillermin never makes films which you could realistically be called 'old nonsense'.*"

"John Guillermin "

"*The director. You know,* Blue Max, I was Monty's Double, Waltz of the Toreadors. *Facile at first glance. Almost self-consciously superficial as though challenging any theoretical deconstruction. But at another level often carefully contrived social comments.*"

"Steve McQueen and Paul Newman. Carefully contrived ?"

"*Exactly. Fair haired blue-eyed heroes. Masquerading as liberal democrats, of course, but in fact suggesting Aryan authority figures.*"

"Well, that's a bit strong isn't it ? They were only trying to get the people out of the building."

"*Out of the great Tower of Babel, you mean. Or the Glass Mountain if you prefer. Either reading is possible.*"

"I see. The tower is really contemporary corporate capitalism. Silly of me to miss that."

"*Very silly. The producer is the cine. Irwin Allen has been pursuing the disaster metaphor for a decade. See, for example,* The Poseidon Adventure."

"And how does Fred Astaire fit into all this. Go on. Surprise me."

"*It's not too hard if you concentrate. The tower, as a metaphor for the state of contemporary America, corrupts its very inhabitants and all those associated with it. Guillermin forcibly makes the point by having two of the most lovable American heroes, Richard Chamberlain and Fred Astaire—and casting them as villains*".

"But Fred Astaire reforms and falls for Jennifer Jones."

"*Ah yes. But his redemption is only procured at the price of her life. Which I suppose is saved.*"

"How neat ? I must have missed that bit."

"Quite straightforward. The tabby cat which is handed to him in the final reel by the black messenger. The animal interloper. Very Levi-Strauss."

"Gosh, Gordon. *That's fantastic. I don't know how you do it. But what about Funny Dameson ? How does she fit in ? Sort of Rose Luxemburg figure ?*"

"You're being silly."

"*No she isn't. Actually, Gordon, I quite like a little dream in which I see all you film buffs together in one great big building. The whole lot of you together with your auteurs and structuralist heroes. And then do you know what happens ?*"

"I'm afraid I may even guess."

"*Well first of all I shake you, because every person that matters personally, like Steve McQueen or Paul Newman is there.*"

"Well, that's a bit strong isn't it ? I'm not sure I'd like to be shaken quite so much as you suggest. But I can see the point about the triple bill. Every Picture Theatre in Leicester Square showing a Steve McQueen season. Every Classic in Islington showing a Paul Newman season. Every Odeon in Leeds showing a Fred Astaire season. Yes, I can see the point. Quite a good idea really."

"*Yes, I suppose so. Bit of fun on Boxing Day. Passes the time. But load of old nonsense really.*"

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Overseas students—the true picture

Sir,—In your editorial Overseas Students One Year On (*THES*, December 5) you show embarrassing ignorance in stating that the predicted decline in the number of overseas students of 50 per cent did not materialize because universities have deliberately gone out of their way to recruit more of them.

In the *Reporter* (No 151 February 1980—University of Leeds) I stated: "... provided all other influences remain the same, the proposed new fee increases for overseas students, which amount to more than a doubling on the average, will result in a reduction of well over 50 per cent . . ." Hence two questions need to be asked straight away. Have all other influences remained the same ? Have the overseas student fees, in the average, been more than doubled ?

The answer to the first question is a categorical "no" for several reasons all connected with the tremendous pressures exerted on the Government by educational institutions, particularly the universities, and by organizations concerned with the welfare of overseas students.

First, the Government conceded the point regarding the quality of the research contribution to this country made by postgraduate overseas students ; this concession has taken the form of a £5m fund to be operated by the UGC and the CVCP to pay the difference between the "home" fee and the "overseas" fee to outstanding overseas research students. Secondly, the Government agreed to charge "home" fees to those granted refugee status. Thirdly, nationals from EEC countries have been granted their "legal right" to be treated as "home" students. It must be stressed that these three concessions amount to an overall reduction in the fees paid by these categories of students : the "home" fee is lower than the previous "overseas" fee by £171.50 for postgraduates and by £246.50 for undergraduates. Fourthly, the actual cut in the grant to the British Council was in reality much less than was officially suggested.

The answer as to the second question is also a categorical "no" for several reasons. First, the first three considerations given above have obviously exerted a downward bias on the average level of overseas student fees. Secondly, university departments which lie on the borderline between arts and science have, on the average, been charged the lower fee of £2,000 as against the £3,000 fee but it must be stressed that that is not for the reasons stated by you in your article but simply because of the nature of these courses.

Hence, the fall of 10 per cent should be seen as effectively equivalent to 50 per cent.

Finally, one should like this opportunity to thank all those individuals and organizations who have played such an active role in bringing about these changes in the "influences" determining the numbers of overseas students and whose efforts have resulted in two all-party committees and two Government White Papers.

Yours faithfully
ALI M. EL-AGRAA
Adviser to Overseas Students
University of Leeds.

Peace among youth

Sir,—Your article entitled "EDS boycott peace forum" (*THES*, December 5) contains a number of inaccuracies and gives an extremely one-sided picture of the events surrounding EDS participation in the World Forum of Youth and Students for Peace, Detente and Disarmament, to be held in Helsinki in January.

Firstly, EDS can hardly be described as "one of Europe's most influential student organizations". It does not represent "Conservative and Liberal youth", but merely a fraction of the Conservative party, which in European terms is very small anyway due to the predominance of the Christian Democrats on the right wing. (The French Giscardien Youth and the Dutch VVD student organization which EDS claims as its "Liberal" members, can hardly be described as such: even their parent parties occupy very uneasy positions within the Liberal camp.) The most influential Conservative youth organization in the international field is undoubtedly IDEAYC (Democratic Youth Community for Europe), whereas all the main Young Liberal tendencies are represented through IFLRY (International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth).

Neither is it totally true that the National Committee of Finnish Youth Organisations (SNT) is partisan and has refused to invite the United States Youth Council". The SNT is composed—like the British Youth Council—of all the democratic youth organizations in Finland, including the Conservatives, and the decision as to who to invite from the United States of America was made after due consultation with all interested parties, including EDS. Many United States youth organizations will in fact be participating in the World Forum, and the absence of USYC simply demonstrates its rapidly declining influence as a co-ordinator of youth organizations in the United States.

Finally, representation of British youth at the conference will be secured through many youth organizations, including party political youth, confessional youth, the unions, formed youth groups and social organizations such as the youth clubs. The event will be truly one of international significance.

Yours sincerely,
GRAHAM R. WATSON,
Secretary General,
International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth,
Linköping, Sweden.

Limited information

Sir,—Thank you for the interest you showed in the new Social Affairs Unit, particularly in your editorial (*THES* December 19). Obviously the Unit's reputation will rest on what it produces over a number of years and we appreciate that your editorial could only be based on limited information. Under such circumstances it is natural that you should seek a comparison with an established body and sensible that you should name that body the Institute of Economic Affairs. However things are not quite as you suggest.

First we are not a branch of the IEA though we see it as an organisational example, are grateful for its support and share its emphasis on dissent. Our gratitude does not mean, as you suggest, that we are over-influenced by economics. You cannot seriously find that over-emphasis in the many work of any of those associated with the Unit and we have both emphasised in recent publications and seminars our distaste for economic reductionism whatever its ideological leanings.

Course cancellation

Sir,—With reference to "Don's Diary" (*THES*, November 28), I would be very grateful if you would correct my interpretation that Bill Rollinson was "unwittingly given that the cancellation of the course *Archaeology in Medieval Cyprus* was in any way due to the fault of the part-time lecturer involved. The reason for the cancellation was an error made in the departments about which Dr Rollinson was not aware when he wrote the article. I am very sorry about this and for any embarrassment caused.

Even writing articles for newspapers can arise out of "Don" unfortunately.

Yours faithfully,
PETER DAVIES,
Lecturer in archaeology,
Liverpool University.

Good report—and advice

Sir,—The Festival Hall conference reported in *The THES* was indeed excellent. I trust your readers will have read your published summary, and that it will provoke discussion and correspondence.

University academics and administrators who are up in arms about recent developments at the UGC would be well-advised to heed Professor Berdahl's advice. I am researching for a PhD in the field of university finance, and am particularly interested in the UGC-university-government relationship and the way it has developed since the committee's terms of reference were widened in 1946. Threats to academic freedom (and we must decide just what we mean by that term) will always exist. Anyone perturbed by the present state of affairs should read Berdahl's book, published over 20 years ago, *British Universities and the State*. His chapter on "National Policies and University Autonomy" may help to clear up one or two points, and also provide a further aid to thought in today's situation.

Yours faithfully,
D. R. TURNER,
University College,
Cardiff.

Never an outpost

Sir,—I am sure that the Social Affairs Unit will appreciate your various references (*THES*, December 19) to its inception. This is not the occasion to take up the issues you raise concerning the unit's role and future. Time will give you and your readers some sort of answer.

There is, however, one point which I would like to make clear. All those (and there are many of us) who are sponsoring the unit do so in their personal capacities. There is, therefore, no sense in which, as your leading article implies, the unit should be taken as "an outpost of Nottingham" sociology ".

Yours faithfully,
PROFESSOR JULIUS GOULD,
381 Derby Road,
Nottingham.

Mechanical failures

Sir,—Some students at Johns Hopkins "fail to understand the most fundamental principles of mechanics", and in the same issue (*THES* December 5) "the Royal Society has made strong representation to Government about the poor quality of science teaching at British schools". I do not doubt that the Royal Society's concern is justified. Alas, the problem does not cease at the schools, nor with the students of Johns Hopkins.

Earlier in the year I received from the Royal Society, on behalf of the Royal Society, and as a considered expression of scientific opinion, the scoffish view that if a quantity x is dimensionless and quantity y is finite, then the quotient formed by dividing the first by the second (namely, x/y) is identically zero. As part of the same considered scientific opinion (Royal Society reference AP 85, 4) I am asked to believe that a parameter having the dimensions of density (mass per unit volume) measures the rate at which something happens—a statistic from expressing a quantity which merely is, and which continues to be.

The problem do not cease at the schools, nor at Johns Hopkins, nor do they seem to differ in the twentieth century from what they were in the fourteenth century. Alas.

Yours faithfully,
V. HESKETH
Lever Street,
Berkeley,
Glos.

Degree of elitism

Sir,—Merton College's refusal to consider a candidate with a CNAA degree for a junior fellowship requires a more trenchant comment than that given in your editorial of December 19.

All polytechnics and colleges of higher education go to great lengths to ensure academic standards commensurate with those of universities in the UK. Almost invariably external examiners on CNAA validating degrees are drawn from universities and apply the same standards as those employed in their own departments. Indeed, because of the flexibility of academic standards in universities it is inevitably the case that some polytechnics apply higher first-degree criterin than some universities. There is, therefore, no reason why a candidate with a CNAA degree should not be of equal academic merit to a university graduate of the same class of division.

All those who desire a stable affairs in which purely academic criteria determine the allocation of research and teaching posts in higher education cannot but be outraged by Merton's class elitism.

Yours faithfully,
A. HALL,
NCB History Project,
Newcastle Upon Tyne.

Strength in defence

Sir,—The article "Keeping s company by Margate Sands" (*THES*, December 5) is an absurd on NUS and on higher education. Your paper has been one of the few to catalogue and often to condemn the senseless destruction of our education systems by successive governments and in particular Thatcher and her minions. To support the struggle for ILEA.

How are students to fight against cuts, closures and mergers if not through NUS ? How are we to join the ILEA campaign ? How are we to fight for our grants ?... In short how, if not through our national union, are we to preserve a free system of higher education on a basis in a sound economy, when the Government wants none except on the terms of the madhouse.

Our conference strove to achieve sound policy on educational matters such as grants and fees, tuition fees, overseas students and union autonomy. It made some good decisions, some bad ones. Anyone who thinks this is a "soap opera" does not deserve space in a paper on higher education.

Further, NUS is about as "totally dependent on funding by Government" as the National Union of Mineworkers. We pay our own capitation fee out of our grants, wages, our money. It is our business what we do with our money and our union. If the Executive chooses to try and stifle the emergence of strong policy, that is their business but it is certainly not due to any general realization of a debt owed to a government which is destroying Britain's education.

Sir, allow your contributors to constructively criticize ; do not allow them to attack our union. Our strength in it is our only defence.

Yours faithfully,
ANDREW ROSS,
University College London.

A first and a second

Sir,—The caption to the photograph of Dame Rosemary Murray (*THES*, December 12) is somewhat misleading.

Dame Rosemary was the first woman vice-chancellor of Cambridge University ; but she was not the first woman vice-chancellor of a British university. That was Professor Lilian Penson, who was vice-chancellor of the University of London from 1948 to 1951.

Yours faithfully,
WINIFRED BAMFORTH,
5 Oaklands,
Oaks Avenue,
London SE19.

Letters for publication should arrive on Tuesday morning at the latest. They should be as short as possible and should be written on one side of the paper only. The editor reserves the right to cut or abstain them if necessary.

TIMES PAST THE TIMES
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Planning horizons and capping pools—priorities for 1981

A New Year is traditionally a time for resolutions. But resolutions are often expressions of virtue that has been unattainable in the past or of intention that has always been frustrated, so they are rarely honoured. It is usually a safe bet that the new year will not be very different from the old. The New Year is also a season that encourages speculation, often long-range, about our future. But although the tick of the calendar provides a pretext for pause and for brief reflection, it offers no special insight and because it is midwinter may even be accompanied by a maudlin nostalgia. Again, the accelerating events of the fresh year soon obscure what ever view of the future we briefly glimpsed.

The world of January is remarkably similar to the world of December that it has succeeded. The same opportunities present themselves and the same obstacles stand in the way of progress. So there is always a strong case at the birth of a year for concentrating on action rather than on resolutions, and on the next 12 months rather than on the next 10 years. In 1981 there is a particularly strong case for such down-to-earthness because the issues that higher education faces are so serious and so urgent.

Of course, the issues crowd in on higher education from every direction—overseas students, grants or loans for students, the dual support system for research, translation. It is easy to be bewildered into inactivity by their variety. On the other side there is the very sound argument that we should try to distinguish between the wood and the trees, and that we should not be tackling the shopping list of detailed problems handed down from 1980 but should instead be trying to establish an overall context for their consideration by setting an agenda for the 1980s, whether this means consolidating steady-state higher education or implementing Model B-style reform. Only when such a context has been established, runs this argument, will we be in a fit and coherent state to consider the detailed problems of 1981.

In fact, the best course must be to steer between these two, between being crushed by the weight of detailed problems and being seduced by over-contextualisation. Proper discrimination must be exercised between big and not-so-big problems, but it must also be recognised that there are two problems, or issues, that are so big that their solution is a virtual precondition of healthy policy development for the next decade.

The first is the urgent need to provide the universities with a clear planning horizon. This is important for at least four reasons. First, the universities are, and will continue to be until at least the end of this century, the predominant sector of higher education both in the number of their students and in the hegemony of their values. There was a fashion at the height of enthusiasm for the binary policy in the early 1970s to imagine that the universities could safely be left to one side in the making of national higher education policy. This fashion may even not be completely dead within the darker corners of the DES or the murkier recesses of the Conservative mind. But in a period of scarce resources and demographic uncertainty it is entirely unrealistic. Higher education without the universities is like *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark.

Second, the universities have now been without an effective planning horizon for six years. There was a brave, but ultimately ineffective, attempt by Mrs Shirley Williams to provide some kind of planning horizon in an age of rapid inflation, cash limits, and extensive cuts in public expenditure when she introduced the rolling triennium. This was nothing like the fixed quinquennium it replaced but far better than chaos.

Today even that limited gain has been swept away. Mr Carlisle's slippery promise of level funding, which in any case always lacked precise definition, too has disappeared in the latest round of cuts. The universities have to face again the full rigour and the debilitating uncertainty of yearly budgets. This time their impact will be even more pernicious because in 1974-77 it was at least recognized by all parties that it was an emergency, a temporary dislocation that would be rectified as soon as possible, while the present Government has so far provided no evidence that it does not regard yearly budgeting as a perfectable acceptable medium-term and even long-term strategy for university financing.

Third, the fact that the university system has been drifting rudderless for six years has induced a state of near-paralysis in internal planning within many institutions. After all, what incentive is there to put one's house in order, or at any rate to rearrange the furniture, if there is no consistent pattern or level of resources. Last summer the universities were almost embarrassed because their supplementary grant had been more generous than they expected. Next summer they are likely to be very hard up indeed.

Fourth, the preservation of autonomous universities depends on reliable and consistent funding. Although their constitutional independence may remain unchallenged, their effective independence is gravely undermined by a regime of uncertainty. Universities are then tempted to try to read the signals from the Government, so that they can respond in ways that maintain or increase their resources. So academic freedom is slowly attenuated. What makes the situation even more illogical is that the Government really has no signals it wants to send to the universities.

It is clear that the lack of a decent planning horizon encourages inefficiency, discourages reform and innovation, and is a long-term threat to institutional autonomy and even academic freedom. But it is much less clear what the Government can do, especially within the ideological straitjacket into which it has tied itself. There can be little hope of resurrecting the old consensual system in the short run. The DES's exercise in midwinter entrail reading has been nullified by cash limits, inflations, and "adjustments" like Sir Geoffrey Howe's recent tranches of cuts. Formulae like level funding carry no conviction.

What the Government can do is to recognize, immediately and specifically, that hand-to-mouth budgeting is debilitating the universities, and that they will seek to restore reliable funding and provide a proper planning horizon as soon as possible. With such an acknowledgment that the present "system" is illogical and abnormal the universities may have to be content for the present. At least this would help to prevent this "system" solidifying into an orthodoxy and hold out the hope that when this or another Government starts to pursue more rational policies a proper system of university funding can be restored.

For their part individual universities should see the current efforts of the University Grants Committee to rationalize courses and departments across the system within the larger context of an attempt to restore some element of rational planning. Any rationalization undertaken by individual universities should be regarded in the same light. Although the Government has the major responsibility for the restoration of rational funding and planning of the university sector, the universities themselves are not entirely without responsibility.

The second over-arching issue is more familiar and certainly more urgent. It is the series of policy problems that start with capping the advanced further education pool and ends, presumably, with the establishment of a national body of some description for the non-university sector of higher education. The first, and now second, crude attempts to cap the pool have led to the most capricious results that defy not only educational but also financial logic. Even leaving aside the immensely important question of whether bureaucratic centralism is a more appropriate means for settling priorities for polytechnics and colleges than the collective judgment of academic peers or the free market of institutional endeavours, the technical problems associated with capping the pool seem almost overwhelming. By its nature the non-university sector is much more heterogeneous than the university sector. So far any rationality in this attempt to impose financial control and uniformity has swiftly been sucked into a morass of contradictory norms.

But, of course, that question cannot be left aside. The funding of polytechnics and colleges cannot be regarded simply as a mechanical question, or even a search for the right combination of norms and costs like some latter-day philosopher's stone. It requires sensitive judgments to be made both about present quality and about future promise that by their very essence can be made by civil servants, let alone ministers, alone.

How the voice of the academics is to be expressed is open to debate. Some would argue that representation on the local authorities' higher education group would be enough. Others would stick to the detailed but also fudged formula, for a national body devised by the Oakes committee. Others again, perhaps a growing number, that the academic interest in the non-university sector should be given the same predominance it enjoys in the university sector through the UGC. But everyone agrees that their voice must be expressed more strongly than it can be under the present arrangements for capping the pool.

Even the Government must recognize that the present system of funding polytechnics and colleges is clearly unstable. It must also recognize that having taken the first step and capped the pool they must now take more steps. A national body is the inexplorable destination, because only when the whole process has been given the legitimacy that only a national body can offer will solutions to some of the more intractable technical problems become available. So in the next 12 months the DES should set itself two goals; to produce at least proposals for a national body whether of the Oakes or the Select Committee variety, and to refine further the details of the distribution of the pool.

Of course, the creation of a national body for the polytechnics and colleges would raise quite fundamental questions about the future structure and direction of higher education. The most important of these would be whether it would be logical to continue to have two parallel national systems of higher education, or whether instead the binary policy should be abandoned. But that is a question for the 1980s not for 1981.

Christmas: now for the inside story

Steven Lukes

Here, with the compliments of this festive season, are some thoughts about colleagues and students whose Christmas this year will have been somewhat less than merry.

Ismail Besikci is a sociologist imprisoned in Turkey, whose ruling generals, so warmly welcomed in September by our commentators, preside over continuing torture, political detention and censorship. He is reported to have been tortured. He is a courageous, even heroic man, for though not a Kurd, he has written a number of books about the Kurds and defended their claim to be considered as a separate ethnic group. This, together with "offending the memory of Kemal Atatürk", is the charge on which he was convicted. He believes that "... the existence of the Kurdish people in Turkey with a distinct cultural structure and language is an objective reality. . . . The policies of governments towards the Kurdish people cannot be reconciled with the concepts of human rights and supremacy of law ...". The Kurds are some 16 million people without a country, and Kurdistan in Turkey is the largest and most populous part of the Kurdish national territory (see the excellent book edited by Gerard Chaliand, *People without a Country: the Kurds and Kurdistan*, published by Zed Press, 57 Caledonian Road, N1).

In Turkey they form about a quarter of the population, yet since 1923 they have been persecuted and oppressed. The Kurdish language and dress are banned and forced assimilation has long been attempted: officially, Kurds are "mountain Turks". The Generals have even been napalming them recently in Diyarbakir. Ismail Besikci risks long imprisonment for his views, but this might conceivably be shortened if enough communists, left and mardel few regulations, which put the military in effective control of the country since last May, banning all political activity, suspending the National Assembly, closing all colleges and universities, pursuing ruthless "purification", imposing strict press censorship and declaring strikes illegal? Some 380 persons are being tried by the Military Court, following the demonstrations of last May. It is likely that over 1,000 civilians were killed, most of them students.

Of those already tried, and sentenced, there is a strong case for concern about Professors Lee Moon-young, Yo Ha-jin, Suh Nam Dong and Han Wan-sang. Our concern should be all the stronger since, like all the others cited in this article, they are all citizens of states that are our allies, engaged in defending the Free World.

Have a merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

The information on which this article is based was kindly supplied by Amnesty International, 10 Southampton Street WC2 and Index on Censorship, 21 Russell Street, WC2, from whom further details may be obtained.

South America is full of horrors but two other recent cases are worthy of our Christmas thoughts (and actions). In the brutish, Hobbesian world of El Salvador, where some 8,000 Salvadorians are estimated to have died by violence in the past year, many of them through summary execution by the security forces, Efrain Antonio Hernandez Vasquez, a 24-year-old married university student leader, was taken by agents of the National Police at 10.45 on the morning of December 17 in the Calle Guatemala ; and Jose Guillermo Castro Ramos, a Baptist student leader, studying engineering at El Salvador University, was arrested by the notorious police in February, but the National Police now refuse to admit he was arrested or say where he is.

The Salvadorian government regularly seeks to evade accountability for the secret detention and execution of its citizens. Dr Jose Antonio Morales at the Casa Presidential, San Salvador, should be urged to explain the whereabouts and legal position of these two students.

Over 50 Haitian politicians, professional people, human rights activists and journalists were rounded up by the army on November 28 and 29 in a wave of arrests unparalleled since President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier succeeded his father "Papa Doc" almost 10 years ago. It is obviously an attempt to silence growing opposition to the Duvalier dictatorship, under conditions of sharp economic deterioration and intensified political persecution, in that terrifying country of voodoo and torture. What in particular has happened to the ethnologist Lamartiubre Honorat and the philosopher Jean Claude ? Questions that might well be addressed to Son Excellence Jean-Claude Duvalier, President-à-Vie, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

And, finally, what of the university lecturers who, along with journalists, lawyers and religious leaders, have recently been tried and sentenced under South Korea's anti-communist law and mardel few regulations, which put the military in effective control of the country since last May, banning all political activity, suspending the National Assembly, closing all colleges and universities, pursuing ruthless "purification", imposing strict press censorship and declaring strikes illegal? Some 380 persons are being tried by the Military Court, following the demonstrations of last May. It is likely that over 1,000 civilians were killed, most of them students.

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Professor Jose Luis Massera is one of Latin America's leading intellectuals and a distinguished mathematician, co-author of an authoritative treatise on the theory of non-linear differential equations, former fellow of the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton and Dean of the Faculty of Science and Engineering in Montevideo's University and for many years director of its Mathematics Institute. He brought up a generation of brilliant Uruguayan mathematicians, most of them now exiled and many holding chairs in the universities of the United States and Europe. They share this exile with some one million Uruguayans (the population before the military coup in 1973 was three million), who have, for reasons political and economic, left what was once the Switzerland of Latin America but is now, in Senator Church's words, its torture-chamber.

Professor Massera is a political